

KOREA MUST BE REUNIFIED INDEPENDENTLY



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EDITOR'S NOTE

The Korean people are a homogeneous nation with a single culture and a single language. They had been living harmoniously on one territory through a long history. Owing to the past thirty years' occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists, they have been suffering from the hardships and misfortunes caused by the territorial division. These hardships and misfortunes are immeasurably great, affecting the uniform development of the nation in a broad sense and the life of every family in a narrow sense. The country's reunification is the loftiest national aspiration of the Korean people.

In accordance with the line laid down by the great revolutionary leader President Kim Il Sung for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put forward time and again the most reasonable and realistic proposals for the solution of the reunification question and have made sincere efforts to carry them out.

The US imperialists and the south Korean puppet government have turned down all these proposals and persisted in their policies of aggression, war and division.

The question of Korea's reunification fully coincides with the trend of the times towards independence and is closely linked not only with peace in Asia, but also with world peace.

Today the unbiased public opinion of the world and the peace-loving people are active in expressing solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peace-

ful reunification of the country. The voices denouncing the plot of the US imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique to create "two Koreas" and provoke another war are rising even higher in different parts of the world.

This book contains some of the articles on Korea's reunification written by foreigners.

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THIRTY YEARS OF DIVISION

Genaro Carnero Checa
Peruvian Journalist

"It is the fundamental revolutionary task of the Government of the Republic to attain the complete victory of socialism in the northern half, expel foreign forces on a nationwide scale and achieve the reunification and independence of the country on a democratic basis." (Kim Il Sung)

The liberation of Korea from the domination of the Japanese imperialists on August 15, 1945 brought the day of joy and at the same time the day of sorrow.

That day culminated the efforts of nearly 50-year-long struggles against the foreign aggressors and the people commenced to travel the road of definitive liberation after uncountable years of obscurity and slavery. In Pyongyang fluttered the triumphant flags of the guerrillas. In Seoul the people turned out in the streets to celebrate liberty. The whole country demonstrated that "the Koreans are alive" and they are able to build a new society with their own strength and will. General Kim Il Sung, the legendary hero and nation's leader, was recognized as the leader of all the nation. He made a preparation for leading the Korean nation to a higher goal of pro-

gress, democracy and peace. At this time a foreign force occupied Korea. It attacked the people in the south and threatened the people in the north. And it cut off the vein in which circulated the same blood, and bisected the country. The Yankee imperialists had set foot on the peninsula. The fraternal intercourse of all the Koreans was interrupted and another misfortune fell upon the "beautiful land of three-thousand *ri*".

Nearly thirty years have elapsed since then, but the division persists. With the 38th parallel as the dividing line, there are two governments, two flags, two kinds of currencies, two armies; and, above all, two lives: one is the life of peace, labour, democracy and happiness, in the north, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the other that of oppression, misery, subjugation and chain, in the south, under a puppet government.

Division brought about wars and blood, destruction and death. Millions of Koreans are even unable to talk between themselves. The puppets have not paid attention to the repeated peaceful propositions of the north for reunifying the country and healing the wound. Rather, they answered them with hatred, the sharpening of sword and the treacherous attack. Neither the grown-ups nor children are able to share the rice of their time-honoured land with each other. The danger of another war is growing. The drums of war are beating in the south.

Regardless of the possible peril of limitless hecatomb not only in Korea but also in the whole world, Yankee imperialism maintains the wound of the division and makes it deeper and bigger. It is culpable. Unmasked and crushed all over the world, it desperately gets hold of the martyred south of Korea. It and its puppets hope that "two Koreas" will exist forever like light and shadow and that south Korea remains in the darkness. However, Koreans desire

another thing: The withdrawal of the imperialists and one, single Korea. What is desired by the Koreans is to steer their destiny with their own efforts without outside influences. This is the greatest aspiration of the DPRK and Marshal Kim Il Sung.

With respect to this fundamental orientation President Kim Il Sung said as follows:

"We have maintained and still maintain that the question of Korea's reunification should be solved by the Korean people themselves on democratic principles, by peaceful means, and independently, without any foreign interference."

This orientation fully accords with the basic principle of the great Juche idea that one is responsible for one's own destiny and one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny.

It is a most just and reasonable orientation acceptable to any one who earnestly desires Korea's reunification.

How did the situation stand in Korea in the past?

What is happening today and what will take place tomorrow?

When the Japanese were thrown into the sea in 1945 the Yankees, abusing both the Potsdam and Cairo Declarations of the allied forces, stretched their tentacles to Korea without firing a single shot. They entrenched behind the 38th parallel which was defined by the allies as a mere administrative division and established a "military government". Through it they opposed the revolutionary awakening of the south Korean people and all their efforts to unite with the north. They plunged south Korea into the hedge of terrorism, misery and the Yankees' bayonets. All reactionaries, landlords, comprador capitalists, speculators and the traitors to the nation in the peninsula gathered themselves in Seoul and got the protection of the Stars and Stripes. After breaking up the "USSR-USA Joint Commission" the Yankees

sabotaged the implementation of the resolutions favourable to reunification. They illegally brought the Korean question to the United Nations, because they had their "voting machine" in its Assembly. They made the UNO appoint the so-called "UN Commission on Korea" which was nothing but an appendage to the White House and Washington. Under the supervision of these puppets the US imperialists held a fraudulent separate election in south Korea and fabricated a puppet government headed by sinister Syngman Rhee. It was a mean scheme to perpetuate the division of Korea in two parts, the north and the south. In this way they converted south Korea, with Seoul as its "capital", into a Yankee colony, a military base against the whole of Asia, China in particular, and a link in the whole chain of world imperialism.

However, the entire people in the northern half of the Republic started a new life and built a free, democratic country.

The Korean Communist Party and the organizations of working women, youth, workers and peasants were formed. The essential reforms—the Agrarian Reform, Nationalization of Major Industries, the Labour Law, Social Insurance, the Law on the Equality of the Sexes and so on—were proclaimed and put into effect immediately. The Democratic National United Front was organized. Despite the repression in south Korea, the Joint Conference of the Representatives of the North and South Korean Political Parties and Social Organizations was held (April 1948). The steel-strong Korean People's Army was founded (February 8, 1948). By applying the most agile revolutionary conception, the Communist Party became the Workers' Party of Korea. The People's Committee of North Korea (people's government) was organized. As a result of the free election which was held for the first time in the Korean history with the participation of the north and south

Korean people, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded (September 9, 1948). The anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people's democratic revolution emerged victorious, and the march towards socialism started.

North Korea had been converted into a powerful democratic base for progress and democracy, and for the reunification of all Korea.

The Soviet Army which had helped the Korean guerrillas in defeating Japan in 1945 and had been stationed in Korea by that time, announced its withdrawal from Korea. There remained only Koreans led by their Party, their Republic and their leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

In June 1950 the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK proposed to the south to hold top-level negotiations to promote and achieve peaceful reunification.

The reply was a war.

On June 25, the troops, armed by the south Korean puppets and their Yankee abettors, attacked the DPRK, crossing the 38th parallel.

The blood of the same vein began to dye the fields of Korea.

The Yankee imperialists are, in reality, the aggressors. As the continuation of their attack against all the peoples of the world, the US imperialists set fire on the peninsula and bombed and shelled to check the revolution and the advance toward socialism. They mobilized enormous effectives to the Korean front—more than two million soldiers including one third of their ground forces, one fifth of their air force, and the greater part of their Pacific Fleet, armed forces of fifteen satellite countries and the south Korean puppet army, plus large quantities of up-to-date combat materiel and equipment—and even resorted to the most barbarous methods and means of warfare without precedence in history.

Mankind watched the reply of a free and revolutionary people. The Yankee troops and their puppets as well as the armies of a handful of countries which followed the United States in this criminal adventure under the stained UN flag, were virtually encircled and annihilated by the Korean People's Army. Neither terrorism nor huge armed forces and equipment served the purpose. Korea, under the steel-like leadership of Marshal Kim Il Sung and holding up the banner of Juche, checked the aggressors and inflicted a merciless defeat on them. For the first time in their history they signed the Armistice Agreement without imposing conditions, practically in the condition of the vanquished. July 27, 1953, was a historic day, which brought about the beginning of a complete decline for the Yankee imperialists on a world scale. Since then they have suffered defeat in Cuba and in Viet Nam. The DPRK, still bleeding, celebrated the victory with a boundless pride and resumed its advance towards socialism, international friendship with all peoples on the globe and peace.

The country still remains split, however.

The Yankee troops continue to occupy south Korea.

There still exists the Military Demarcation Line and around it there is a zone caused by the armistice.

Panmunjom is the point of psychological warfare and conflicts. It lies on the very line. Description of it will explain what is happening in Korea. In the north of this zone are seen golden rice fields, flowering villages, mechanized work and the soldiers of the KPA, the sole guardians of the Military Demarcation Line. They are standing guard with firmness and composure, wearing the spick-and-span green uniforms with stars and red marks. One can see sentry posts between big concrete blocks, cherry trees and sunflowers. The buildings where the armistice talks were held are all open to public. It is a small

on-the-spot museum showing the facts about the war. It is very near to Kaesong, and only 38 kilometres away from Seoul. If one intends to go from Pyongyang to Seoul, he has to pass Panmunjom and the Military Demarcation Line by train or by car. The area north of the line shows authentic Korea. But, in the south of it there are only deserts and the mine fields prepared for destruction of men, not for labour and cultivation. Along the Military Demarcation Line no one can be seen but the Yankee soldiers, sometimes accompanied by puppets or hirelings. Groups of CIA men and provocateurs take photographs of all visitors to Panmunjom from the north, the friends of the DPRK, in a most shameless and shabby sort of way. The south of the Demarcation Line has become an odious fortress, in short. Ever since the Armistice Agreement was signed the Yankees and their puppets have committed provocations against the DPRK nearly 70,000 times.

However, the DPRK and Marshal Kim Il Sung proposed to the south to achieve unity and the country's reunification, and to connect the veins of the same blood. Having listened to this appeal, the south Korean people staged demonstrations in support of it and all the people—workers, students, intellectuals, religious men, medium and small traders and industrialists—issued declarations and statements. Overseas Koreans, too, heard of the appeal. The 600,000 Koreans in Japan, too, are supporting Marshal Kim Il Sung, firmly rallied around Chongryon (The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) whose Chairman is Han Dok Su, a poet and distinguished man. Korean residents in the United States (most of them are American citizens) also came out in support of the reunification of their far-away homeland. The puppet regime in Seoul is opposed to it. Pak Jung Hi, successor of Syngman Rhee, is an expert agent and employee of the Yankee and Jap-

anese colonialists. He proclaimed martial law in south Korea and a state of war in Seoul and cooked up his reelection. Today in south Korea no one is allowed to go out at night freely. Prisons are full of the students who called for reunification.

Kim Dae Jung, a political leader of south Korea who advocates reunification, was kidnapped by the functionaries of Pak Jung Hi in the middle of Tokyo where he was staying, and was sent to Seoul secretly in the midst of international commotion. Many students and poet Kim Ji Ha were sentenced to death in Seoul on the charge of having called for freedom. Bayonets and Yankee-style terrorism as well as a group of millionaires, speculators and traders doing business with Japan and the United States, are the only supporter of Pak Jung Hi sitting on the poverty of the people. For them, reunification signifies the ruin of big business, fortune and speculation.

In his historic speech of August 6, 1971 President Kim Il Sung made clear again and extensively that the DPRK was ready to negotiate on the reunification of the country at any time with all political parties including the present ruling party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea.

This amplified proposal for the north-south negotiations aroused a big repercussion among the Korean people and the peoples of the world, and opened a new phase for the reunification of Korea by breaking the state of freeze that had long existed between the north and the south.

Even the south Korean rulers who had been opposed to any contact between the north and the south, could not but enter the road of dialogue yielding to the pressure of the south Korean people and the demand of the world public opinion.

Thus, in September 1971 contacts between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations

were established and from 1972 the north-south high-level talks started.

This undoubtedly was a brilliant victory of the principle of independent, peaceful reunification set forth by President Kim Il Sung and the magnificent fruition of save-the-nation proposals put forward by him in his historic August 6, 1971 speech just mentioned above.

President Kim Il Sung advanced the three principles of Korea's reunification. In them he concretized the fundamental orientation for attaining this historic goal. They were applied to conform the new conditions in which the north-south political dialogue opened, and have been invariably maintained since then. Thus, the common programme and course of the whole nation for independent and peaceful reunification were prepared.

The three principles of Korea's reunification presented by President Kim Il Sung are as follows:

First, to reunify the country independently, without relying on outside forces and without their interference;

Second, to attain reunification peacefully without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;

Third, to promote the great unity of the nation transcending the differences of ideologies, ideals and social systems.

These plain yet epochal principles—the true examples and models of the spirit of reunification—opened up a new path for practically achieving the peaceful reunification of the country by the efforts of the Korean people themselves. Because they have given sufficient consideration to all the situations created in the north and the south on account of the long duration of the artificial division of the country.

The north-south high-level talks culminated in the historic North-South Joint Statement whose main contents are the three principles of independence,

peaceful reunification and great national unity enunciated by President Kim Il Sung, and reached an agreement as to the collaboration between the north and the south in various aspects. Afterwards, the North-South Co-ordination Commission started its work as a permanent joint body of the nation.

This has opened a clear prospect before Korea's reunification.

In particular, at the second meeting of the North-South Co-ordination Commission there arose the question of removing the state of military confrontation between the north and the south, which presents itself as the most pressing question today.

As is widely known, at the meeting the Government of the DPRK, out of the desire for peace and in consideration of the impossibility of improving the north-south relations without radically removing the military tension in Korea, made the following proposals:

Firstly, to stop reinforcement of military effectives and arms race;

Secondly, to reduce the effectives of the armies of the north and the south to 100,000 or less respectively, as well as their equipment;

Thirdly, to discontinue the introduction of weapons and war supplies from abroad;

Fourthly, to make all the foreign troops including the US army withdraw from south Korea;

Fifthly, to conclude a peace agreement between the north and the south that guarantees the solution of the above-mentioned problems and the mutual restraint from the use of armed forces.

The new proposals of the DPRK won the absolute support not only of the Korean people but also of all the peoples of the world, for they correctly reflected the unanimous desire of the Korean people and the demand of the times.

This five-point, fair and reasonable proposition

which practically contributed to the acceleration of Korea's reunification was an evident proof of the DPRK Government's desire for peace, the desire to resolve the problem of national reunification peacefully without resorting to force of arms, and an expression of its sincere efforts to achieve the national aspiration for reunification at an earliest possible date.

The removal of the military confrontation in Korea will make it possible to step up the north-south dialogue by deepening the mutual understanding and trust not only in the military aspect but also in all other spheres—economic, cultural, diplomatic, etc.

In short, it will considerably improve the general relations between the north and the south and promote the cause of national reunification. On the other hand, with this measure, an enormous sum will be allotted to economic development, which will be effected with great vigor. Moreover, this proposition will make a great contribution to preserving peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, all these fair and concrete proposals of the DPRK Government have failed to receive a due response from the puppet authorities of south Korea under the protection and manipulation of the Yankee imperialists.

From the outset, the puppets of the south made a fool of the agreements and tried to close the door which had just begun to open. There were new provocative acts along the Military Demarcation Line. The pirate ships of the CIA intruded into the territorial waters of the DPRK. In the south the most brutal repression was made against the advocates of reunification. In the meantime, Pak Jung Hi and his followers alleged, on the other hand, that the Yankees are not foreign troops, trying craftily to cover up their treachery.

Moreover, internationally and in the UNO, the

Seoul government advanced the "two Koreas" theory in June, 1973 in order to perpetuate the division of the country. In this way the puppets and their manipulator sought to bring Korea's division to the extreme. Besides, Seoul demanded that the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and the "UN forces" stationed in south Korea continue their functions. These "Commission" and forces, in fact, are to screen the true colors and aggressive and colonialist purposes of the US imperialists.

The DPRK's reply to the "two Koreas" theory was, as usual, prompt for reunification, and patriotic.

In his historic speech of June 23, the same year, President Kim Il Sung reiterated the orientation for peaceful and independent reunification which had been held by the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the DPRK to put an end to the permanent division of the country and realize as soon as possible the earnest desire for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland and a single Korea.

Two years have passed since the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement. However, disregarding the aspiration of the entire Korean nation and the consistent, sincere efforts of the DPRK Government, the north-south dialogue is making little progress and big obstacles still lie in the way of reunification.

Clamouring for "confrontation with dialogue", "competition with dialogue" and "coexistence with dialogue", the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique have frantically reinforced their military forces at the instigation of their masters and the "Nixon doctrine" of making Koreans fight Koreans and perpetuating the partition of the peninsula.

Under these circumstances, President Kim Il Sung made public the following five-point policy in the above-mentioned speech:

1. "To improve the present relations between the north and south of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary, first of all, to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south";

2. "To improve the north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification, it is necessary to materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields";

3. "In order to settle the question of the country's reunification in conformity with the will and demand of our people, it is necessary to enable the masses of people of all strata in the north and south to participate in the nation-wide patriotic work for national reunification";

4. "What is of great significance today in speeding up the country's reunification is to institute a north-south Confederation under the name of a single country";

5. "We consider that our country should be prevented from being split into two Koreas permanently as a result of the freezing of national division and that the north and south should also work together in the field of external activity".

The removal of the state of military confrontation and the easing of tension between the north and the south, the realization of many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and the south, the convocation of a Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life and the representatives of all political parties and social organizations in the north and the south, the institution of a north-south Confederation with the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo and the entry into the UNO under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo—these are new concrete policy for reunification put forward by

President Kim Il Sung and constitute the most excellent, just and true national programme for expediting the peaceful reunification of Korea under the present situation.

The five-point policy will make it possible to firmly maintain the homogeneous ties of the nation and to realize the country's peaceful reunification with the efforts of the nation itself by foiling the undisguised manoeuvre of the US imperialists and the south Korean puppets to fabricate "two Koreas".

The five-point policy, a clear expression of the initiative and sincere efforts of the DPRK Government, won once again the unanimous support and sympathy of the entire Korean people and the peace-loving people of the world.

For the first time, as regards the Korean question, the United States could not form majority in the United Nations General Assembly.

The session (28th) held on November 21, 1973 decided to dissolve the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". In addition, it expressed full support to the Joint Statement of July 4, 1972. A special delegation of the DPRK took part in the debates and made clear the position of its country.

The UN resolution to which the delegates of the United States and the south Korean puppets were opposed was undoubtedly a victory of President Kim Il Sung's programme and opened up the path to the realistic reunification of Korea.

However, these positive steps can never be brought to realization so long as the US troops, which disguise themselves in the UN military uniforms and are allied with the Pak Jung Hi regime, remain in south Korea. Their presence, as has been proved in the whole course of the contemporary Korean history, is the source of aggression and provocation. Things have become more complicated and

graver, because the US army, instead of cutting down its effectives, is reinforcing itself by bringing in even some part of its units surviving the war of aggression against Viet Nam and some troops stationed in Japan.

So long as the US troops remain in south Korea, there can be no reunification nor peace in Korea. This is obvious.

Shortly before the General Assembly of the United Nations, the DPRK's programme for independent peaceful reunification in the whole peninsula received another international support at the Fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers. At the Conference the whole third world, standing on the side of Pyongyang, demanded the withdrawal of the US army and Korea's reunification. That is to say, it called for the Korean question to be settled by the Korean people themselves. Prime Minister Boumedienne who presided over the Conference, said that Korea under the leadership of Marshal Kim Il Sung and under his Juche system was the "pride of the third world".

Particularly important is to mark, among the proposals of Pyongyang and Seoul on the pressing question of reunification, the Pak Jung Hi's proposal for concluding a "non-aggression pact" with the DPRK. At first sight this proposal may seem constructive. But Marshal Kim Il Sung asked: A pact with whom?

Are they ignorant of the fact that it is none other than the United States which commands the troops in south Korea, concluded the Armistice Agreement with the DPRK, and cooked up and committed aggression? Then, what is the use of concluding a pact with those who have nothing but an empty hand and have not even the power of decision? The leader of the Korean people also said that it is reasonable for the Koreans to solve the question of their country by

themselves with their own resources and ability after the foreign forces get out of Korea for good.

Strictly adhering to such a position, the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly sent a letter to the Congress of the United States (April 6, 1973). In the historic document it declared:

"The United States should discontinue military 'aid' and the supply of weapons and military equipment to south Korea, stop armaments expansion and war exercises in south Korea and desist from encouraging the south Korean authorities with military support for the purpose of making Koreans fight Koreans.

"If the US government authorities take such steps, war danger will be removed in Korea and the Korean people will certainly achieve the peaceful reunification of their country by themselves."

This proposal met only with larger provocations and manoeuvres of the CIA and the reinforcement of the military contingents in the south.

Later, on March 25, 1974 the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK sent again a letter to the US Congress. Pointing out the grave situation of the times in the letter, the SPA proposed to the government of the White House, a signer to the Armistice Agreement in 1953, to convert the armistice into a durable peace. It stressed:

"We consider that the responsibility for the failure in Korea's reunification and for the current tense situation and danger of war in Korea rests chiefly with the US government authorities."

No denunciation and warning can be stronger than this. The United States, therefore, should bear the historical responsibility. The choice between peace and war is left to the United States.

The concrete four-point proposal referred to in the above-mentioned document is as follows:

"Firstly, both sides shall pledge to each other not

to invade the other side and shall remove all dangers of direct armed conflict.

"The United States shall be bound in duty not to incite the south Korean authorities to the war provocation manoeuvres and fascist repression of the south Korean people or patronize them, not to hinder the north and south of Korea from reunifying it independently and peacefully in accordance with the North-South Joint Statement and not to meddle in the internal affairs of Korea.

"Secondly, both sides shall discontinue the reinforcement of armed force and arms drive and stop introducing all weapons, combat equipment and war supplies from beyond the boundary of Korea.

"Thirdly, the foreign troops in south Korea shall strip themselves of the 'UN forces' helmet and all of them withdraw at the earliest date, taking all weapons along.

"Fourthly, Korea shall not be reduced to a military or operational base for any foreign country after the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from south Korea."

It proposed to hold the talks at Panmunjom or in a third country and to compose the delegates at a higher level. Nevertheless, the United States has not given a reply to this date.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Marshal Kim Il Sung have practically made all possible proposals and efforts for Korea's reunification and never given up their efforts for reunification which will lead the Korean peninsula to progress, democracy and peace.

All the political, economic and social plans of the DPRK are worked out for the country's reunification. Every Korean in the north knows what he should do when he meets the brothers in the south. They have rice, machinery, technicians, embrace and joy, to be given, when necessary, to the south from Panmunjom

to Pusan. This is the DPRK's will for reunification. In this way the DPRK seeks for reunification and struggles for it. The following instance will suffice to tell it.

It is possible to carry out the reform of alphabet in the DPRK to modify the language and writing. But the DPRK does not carry it out. Because the wider difference will be created between the north with its reformed and modernized alphabet and the lagging south Korea. The reform should be done after reunification.

Nevertheless, the south Korean puppets and the Yankees, their instigators, do not want peace but war. The perspective is alarming, but one thing is certain anyhow. That is, the DPRK and Marshal Kim Il Sung, together with the entire people, will mercilessly defeat the Yankee war maniacs once again as they did twenty years ago.

"There is no force on earth which can destroy such a nation.

"...a nation that has national pride and confidence in victory is invincible."

This is what Marshal Kim Il Sung had declared as early as in 1948 when the DPRK and its socialist revolution made their first steps.

A quarter of a century has gone since then.

Calculate the value of his declaration now when the DPRK has become a vigorous and gigantic fortress of the revolution and socialism, and of peace in Asia and the whole world. The aggressors must think it over.

And they should look back to their past: To Viet Nam where their pride was humbled by the brilliant heroism displayed by the "nephews" of Ho Chi Minh. To socialist Cuba, where under the leadership of Fidel Castro the sons of Marti defeated them at a short distance of several miles from their coast. To the whole Latin America which fought against the Span-

ish Empire in the past and is now fighting against Yankee imperialism and advancing irresistibly towards its Second Emancipation, a new Ayacucho, a new battle for liberty. To Cambodia, Laos, the Arab countries, Mozambique, Guinea and Angola, where the peoples are waging an implacable struggle against Yankee imperialism.

The imperialists' treacherous and murderous coup d'etat like in Chile is no more than a deathbed struggle of a beast.

Because the days of imperialism are numbered. Now is an age of the peoples.

Long time ago, in a remote village in northeast China Marshal Kim Il Sung, still very young, declared that the goal of the Korean people was to liberate their fatherland from Japanese imperialism, carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people's democratic revolution, lay the material foundations for socialist construction and advance towards communism, with their own strength and in fraternal friendship with the socialist revolution and the peoples the world over.

These words and goal have been materialized by Marshal Kim Il Sung in the whole course of his heroic and exemplary life.

He has never drawn back from his objectives.

He is still pursuing these same objectives even today, on a higher plane, basing himself on the successes achieved by the Workers' Party of Korea, the Supreme People's Assembly, the Korean People's Army and the entire people.

Let us listen to his words:

"It is important to cement the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries in order to strengthen the world anti-imperialist forces.

"When they advance as a united force, the socialist countries can exert greater influence upon the development of the world revolution and successfully

carry out the struggle against imperialism and for preserving and consolidating peace as well.

“Our Party holds fast to our principle based on independence in the struggle to achieve the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

“We maintain that the socialist countries should attain unity on the basis of opposing imperialism, supporting the national-liberation movement in colonies and the international working-class movement, continuing to advance towards socialism and communism and abiding by the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit.

“We strongly hold that the socialist countries, the newly independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all the peace-loving countries of the world should unite and wage an energetic struggle against imperialism.

“Our Party and the Government of the Republic regard it as an unshakable principle of their foreign policy to support and encourage the national-liberation struggle and the revolutionary struggle of all the peoples in the world fighting against imperialism.

“In the future, too, our Party and our people will continue to fight resolutely for the victory of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, in unity with the peoples of socialist countries, in unity with the international working class, in unity with the fighting Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and in unity with all the progressive peoples of the world, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist struggle.”

With this program, the DPRK and the Korean people under the leadership of Marshal Kim Il Sung have become an impregnable fortress of the revolution.

True, there is no force on earth that can conquer the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

It is invincible.

Because of this, it effectively contributes to making all movements of the world for independence, progress, peace and happiness of the peoples invincible, too.

This is the mission of Korea.

This is Comrade Kim Il Sung's historic contribution to all mankind.

ONE PEOPLE—ONE KOREA

Joseph Waters
General Secretary of the
Australia-Korea
Friendship and Cultural
Association

June 25th (1974) will mark the 24th anniversary of the invasion of north Korea by the armies of US imperialism and their puppet Syngman Rhee. It is a day to be noted, not only by the men and women of the DPRK who fought so valiantly in that bloody conflict, but by the entire world. For June 25th marks, in more ways than one, the beginning of the end for US imperialism.

As history has recorded, after three years of bitter fighting the US imperialists were compelled to beg for an armistice. Not all their huge military and material resources enabled them to overcome a smaller and less well-equipped army and nation. But north Korea possessed something much more powerful than all the military might of the US imperialists. It had the inspiration of its great leader, Marshal Kim Il Sung, which had already given them strength to oust the Japanese after more than 30 years of national oppression and indignity. The spirit of Juche gave them the strength and determination to bring them liberation and national independence.

For the very first time in their nation's history the

US imperialist leaders found themselves on the losing side. As their General Clark stated, he "came to the conference table this time with no feather in his cap".

The rout of their so-called invincible armies, falsely marching under the blue pennant of the United Nations, did not drive them out of the Korean peninsula. Defeated in the north, they were determined to retain their imperialist grip on the south through the agency of traitorous Syngman Rhee. The war, it might be said, was over, but the treachery lingered on.

And so, to this day, almost a quarter of a century since the US plotters set out to make all Korea their territory, the country remains divided.

Today, with Pak Jung Hi to act as their agent, they are fighting to retain their grip on the south. In Australia, the US Ambassador, Marshal Green, has more than once asserted the intention of his government to retain in south Korea 42,000 occupation troops. He has described Korea as being at the crossroads of Asia and an area as he describes it, of US influence.

First defeated by the armies of the north under Marshal Kim Il Sung and now suffering more defeats in Asia—in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the US imperialists are desperately determined to maintain their position in south Korea. They still have that impossible dream of conquering the north, thus strengthening their base from which to seek the reconquest of Asia.

The US imperialists use south Korea as a military base and resist all efforts to have them withdraw their army of occupation. It is because they fear the growing resistance to their presence in south Korea that they now encourage and assist their traitorous puppet Pak Jung Hi in his merciless attacks upon the true Korean patriots. In truth, south Korea is today the world's largest concentration camp with Pak and his US masters as the commandants. The fascist Emer-

gency Laws of Pak are being used against south Korean churchmen, students, writers, academics and workers, in fact, against all who call for the restoration of the simplest democratic rights. The vilest and most brutal means are used by Pak's thugs: girls are raped and students threatened with execution. Pak and his US bosses hope to terrorise south Korean patriots into silence and thus to rob the great movement for the reunification of Korea of its leaders.

The voices of protest against the Pak regime's reign of terror are daily becoming louder throughout the world. In Australia, for example, the powerful Presbyterian Church is at this moment actively campaigning for the release of fellow churchmen jailed for ten years merely because they called for the removal of Pak's infamous Emergency Laws. In the Church's White Paper dated April 4th, 1974 the Commission of the Church Assembly has decided to:

- (1) Express to the President of the Republic of Korea their strong feeling of dismay at the action taken by his Government in the imprisonment of those churchmen who, following the dictates of their conscience and out of concern for the human rights and the future of democracy and justice in the nation, have raised voices of protest against the presidential decree of January 8th, 1974;
- (2) Forward messages of encouragement through the Korean National Council of Churches to the churches involved and to the families of the churchmen who have been imprisoned;
- (3) Transmit these resolutions to the Moderator General, the Chairman of the Board of Ecumenical Mission and Relations, the Christian Conference of Asia and its Urban Industrial Mission Section.

Protests have been made by members of the Geo-

logy Department of Adelaide University against the jailing of a fellow south Korean geologist.

Student organisations are campaigning against the terrorization of their fellow students in Seoul.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has protested against the inhuman treatment of some Korean women.

Trade Unions and other Australian working class organisations are loudly demanding an end to the Pak reign of terror.

The US imperialists plot to keep Korea divided. They carry out daily hundreds of acts of deliberate provocation. They arm and equip Pak's thugs with all kinds of military equipment—even the tear gas used against protesting students and other patriotic south Koreans. Spy ships are sent into north Korean waters disguised as fishing boats.

Despite the capture of the USS "Pueblo" in 1968, for which the US heads signed a statement of responsibility, they continue with their spying activities.

The time has surely come to end once and for all the farcical pretence that the US troops in south Korea are there as the forces of the United Nations. Last year the first real move to end this ridiculous piece of fiction was made with the dissolution of UNCURK. Member nations of the United Nations General Assembly must remove the Blue Flag under which the US occupation forces in south Korea now take cover. Let the US imperialists parade under their own Stars and Stripes so that all the world will know that they are foreign troops occupying a country which is not their own.

Peace forces everywhere must realise that the demarcation line splitting north and south Korea is an explosion point which at any moment might be detonated into World War Three by the inhuman recklessness of the US imperialist warlords.

President Kim Il Sung has declared that Korea

cannot be reunified while US imperialist troops occupy one half of the country. He has repeatedly refuted the lies of Pak Jung Hi and his US masters that the north threatens the south.

His words should be noted by all the world. Kim Il Sung has called for the independent and peaceful reunification of his country. He has made many realistic offers to secure reunification.

It is Pak Jung Hi and the US warlords who wish to keep the nation divided. In Washington they plan to make Asian fight Asian and Korean fight Korean.

Theirs is the well-worn imperialist policy of divide and rule. It is a policy which threatens not just the lives and happiness of Koreans but of the whole world.

To save Korea and world peace people everywhere must demand the immediate withdrawal of all US troops from the Korean peninsula.

The people of Korea—north and south—must be left free and in peace to deal with the Korean question. They, and they alone, have the answer—One people: One Korea.

THE INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA AND THE NORTH-SOUTH JOINT STATEMENT

Yoda Yoshiie

Associate Professor of
the Waseda University,
Japan

(1) THE DIVISION OF KOREA AND THE DOMINATION OF SOUTH KOREA BY US IMPERIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE AUGUST 15 LIBERATION

The joint statement of July 4, 1972, on the peaceful reunification of north and south Korea is based on the agreed principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. It is a victory of the Juche ideology of President Kim Il Sung who has invariably advocated these principles and, at the same time, a brilliant victory of the Korean people's protracted struggle for national reunification. This victory resulted directly from US imperialism's defeat in face of the unity of the revolutionary forces

in Asia. However, on looking back upon the course traversed since the August 15 liberation, one will realize that the joint statement is the result and victory of the consistent advocacy and efforts of President Kim Il Sung and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the days of his struggle to liberate the fatherland—Korea—from Japanese imperialist rule President Kim Il Sung said that when Korea would be liberated in the future a national unity transcending the differences of ideology, creed and social strata should be achieved without fail, and in 1936 he organized the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland involving the broad sections of patriots and democratic personages.

After the unconditional surrender of Japanese imperialism on August 15, 1945, President Kim Il Sung founded a vanguard party, established a people's government, trained cadres for the nation and effected democratic reforms in the area north of the 38th parallel and made an appeal to reunify the north and the south peacefully on a democratic principle. But, upon occupying Korea south of the 38th parallel, the US army issued its "Proclamation No. 1", which reads in part:

"...By virtue of the authority vested in me as Commander-in-Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, I hereby establish military control over Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the inhabitants thereof, and announce the following conditions of the occupation:

"All powers of government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my authority. Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely.

"For all purposes during the military control, English will be the official language...." Thus, the US army lorded it over as a new ruler and brought in the Syngman Rhee puppet clique in order to use them as tools for its colonial rule. As President Kim Il Sung and the DPRK have repeatedly pointed out, the unfortunate state of Korea's division into the north and the south was primarily due to US imperialist domination.

Under the rule of US imperialism and its puppets the south Korean people rose in struggles: In August 1946 there were a struggle of the workers of the Kwangju Colliery and a peasants' uprising in Haeju Island; and in September the same year a fierce workers' general strike broke out in demand of food supply, wage increase, an immediate cessation of all repression by the US military government and the enforcement of a democratic labour law. In October this general strike grew into an all-people struggle involving 2,300,000 people.

In 1948 the US imperialists dispatched the so-called "UN Commission on Korea" to south Korea according to the UN General Assembly resolution adopted without the participation of the Korean people's representative. Through this "Commission" the US imperialists intended to supervise the holding of elections, the establishment of a government and even the founding of a national army in Korea, ignore the national rights of the Korean people, legalize their occupation and establish a puppet government under its patronage. In connection with this plot, the south Korean people launched the February 7 national-salvation struggle against the entry of the "UN Commission on Korea". In his report on the work of the Central Committee to the Second Congress of the Workers' Party held on March 28, the same year, President Kim Il Sung said:

"Our Party holds that a supreme legislative body

for all Korea should be elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. The supreme legislative body of the people thus elected should adopt a democratic Constitution and form a genuine democratic people's government to lead our people along the road to national prosperity and happiness. The establishment of a unified government on such lines by the Korean people themselves will only be possible when foreign troops are withdrawn."

As quoted above, President Kim Il Sung held that a democratic government be established under the condition that the foreign troops were withdrawn. Under such circumstances he called the Joint Conference of Representatives of the North and South Korean Political Parties and Social Organizations in Pyongyang in April 1948. In his report delivered on April 21 that year, President Kim Il Sung proposed to the patriotic, democratic forces of north and south Korea to unite themselves and establish a unified central government without foreign interference. The historic conference was attended by representatives from 56 political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea, and also present there were the leaders of right-wing political parties of south Korea. All the attendants of the conference supported and approved President Kim Il Sung's report. This showed that the Syngman Rhee clique was completely isolated from the nation.

Disregarding such a situation the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique held a separate election by force in May that year in an attempt to freeze the country's division. At that time the south Korean people waged vigorous anti-US, national-salvation struggles including the struggle against the May 10 traitorous separate election. In October the army men in Ryosu rose in a revolutionary struggle against the suppression and massacre of the people and, joined by multitudes of people, they

toppled down the puppet power organ and seized the town completely for a time.

In August 1949 President Kim Il Sung gave a press interview in connection with the declaration of peaceful reunification programme announced at the inaugural meeting of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland, at which he said:

"The Declaration of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland put forward a measure to reunify our country peacefully on a democratic basis without any fratricidal war and foreign interference. I think all the personages who value the interests of the Korean people and the national independence of our country will surely welcome the Declaration of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland."

As mentioned above, since the August 15 liberation President Kim Il Sung and the DPRK have consistently maintained the independent, peaceful and democratic principles in the reunification of all Korea and made efforts for its realization. Referring to the north-south joint conference held in 1948, an article of the April 21, 1972 issue of *Rodong Sinmun* under the title "All the Patriotic Forces of the North and the South Should Unite Strength to Accomplish the Cause of Independent National Reunification", pointed out: "Twenty-four years have passed since the historic north-south joint conference was held, but the long-cherished national desire of our people for the building of a unified sovereign and independent state has not yet come true due to the vicious nation-splitting manoeuvres of US imperialism and its lackeys." This shows that the principle of peaceful reunification, the realization of which is now placed on the order of the day, was advanced already at that time, and efforts have since been made for it.

Thus, following the August 15 liberation, in spite of the US imperialists' divide-and-rule policy,

President Kim Il Sung and the DPRK endeavoured for independent, peaceful and democratic reunification and scored great successes. And the aforesaid principles have been the basis of reunification until today.

Addressing the first graduation ceremony of the Songdo Political Economy Institute in August 1957, President Kim Il Sung said:

“At no time in the history of the working-class movement in our country has there been such a favourable situation as the one created immediately after the August 15 liberation.

“As far as the united front is concerned, the situation created at that time was very favourable for the Communists. They had on their side the fine working class and poor peasants who had undergone the Japanese imperialists’ harsh exploitation.”

“The Korean bourgeoisie did not have their own party in the past and accordingly their influence upon the masses was weak following the August 15 liberation.”

Wherein lay the reason why in such a favourable condition the south Korean working-class movement failed and the main force for reunification was lost?

In the aforesaid speech President Kim Il Sung pointed out:

The south Korean working-class party of those days **“was a conglomeration of various factionalists and alien elements and was engrossed in factional strife from the first day of its formation. Like this, the party, far from guiding the working-class movement, had many factors of split and destruction from the outset.**

“Spies hired by the US imperialists entrenched themselves in the party leadership, and the cadres of the party leadership themselves had illusions about US imperialism, failing to see clearly its craftiness. Though they were desperate in their factional con-

flicts, they knew little of the domestic situation and, therefore, considered even the United States as our liberator because it had defeated fascism in cooperation with the Soviet Union. Therefore, they did not give consideration at all to the questions as to how to organize and preserve a party of the working class and how to launch a struggle under the condition where the US imperialist army landed."

In these words we can see a common factor in the "definition of the liberation army" in the Japanese labour and revolutionary movements after World War II. The general strike in south Korea in September 1946 developed into an anti-US resistance struggle demanding the supply of provisions, an increase of wages, an immediate end to all suppression by the US military government and the enforcement of a democratic labour law. However, unlike this, the February I strike in Japan in 1948 was called off by a sheet of written notice issued by the US occupation army. It is my belief that if the Japanese working-class movement in those days could have learned from the fighting experience of the south Korean workers, it would have possibly developed in another direction.

(2) THE EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG AND THE DPRK FOR INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION AFTER THE KOREAN WAR

As already mentioned, US imperialism and its puppet Syngman Rhee had been forsaken by the south Korean people immediately after the August

15 liberation. They started the Korean war in June 1950 with a view to finding a way out of such a situation and, furthermore, dominating the north of Korea, too. Thus, the land of Korea was wrapped in the fierce flames of war for a few years. However, as President Kim Il Sung pointed out, during the Korean war the peoples of the two countries of Korea and China, cooperating again with each other, humbled the pride of US imperialism and started it on the downgrade from then.

After the ceasefire, too, the Korean nation continued to strive for independent, peaceful reunification. In 1954 the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly issued an appeal on the question of peaceful reunification. The appeal was to the effect that it was ready to have a knee-to-knee talk even with the puppet national assembly in the south and Syngman Rhee's "Liberal Party" and that the talk could be held in Pyongyang or Seoul. In this context, President Kim Il Sung said to this effect:

We believe that even though puppets, if there are conscientious elements among them, they may change their attitude by sitting together with us for discussion. It is because what we are doing for the nation and country is just and fair.

The SPA's appeal also proposed to effect correspondence between north and south Korea, exchange sports teams and art troupes and ensure free travels. As regards this, President Kim Il Sung spoke in this vein:

If south Koreans come to see north Korea even today, they can know well how brilliant our prospect is. Therefore, whatever sections of people may come from the southern half, we do not hesitate to sit face to face with them.

"For the Peaceful Reunification of the Country," a part of the report delivered by President Kim Il Sung at the Third Congress of the Workers'

Party of Korea in April 1956, is of weighty significance because it gave a concrete form to the principle of peaceful reunification advanced up to then. With regard to peaceful reunification the report notes:

"The Party line with regard to the peaceful reunification of the country along democratic lines—the basic task of the Korean revolution at the present stage—is the only correct one in view of the situation prevailing at home and abroad. Our Party, therefore, has consistently held and will hold to the line of the peaceful reunification of the country."

The report continues:

"In south Korea the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, association and religious belief must be restored to the masses and the freedom of political activities ensured for all the patriotic political parties, social organizations and individual persons."

"The right to elect and be elected must be granted equally to all people in south Korea, irrespective of their property status, education, religious belief or sex, so that the broad masses of the working people, among them the workers and peasants, in particular, have the opportunity of actively participating in the political life of the state. Thus, the workers and peasants who constitute the majority of the population must be represented in the National Assembly of south Korea, and the National Assembly must be conducted in conformity with the will of the broad sections of the people to represent the interests of all social sections and strata."

Under these conditions, President Kim Il Sung proposed the formation of a united front comprising all the political parties, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea with the common aim of peaceful reunification and put forward the following concrete proposition: It is because **"...this**

road alone can lead our contemporary generation to happiness and all our posterity to welfare and prosperity."

"With a view to achieving such a coalition and forming a united front comprising all the patriotic political parties, social organizations and all persons with national conscience, we hold that a joint conference of political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea be called; and if conditions are not yet ripe enough to hold such a conference, we are ready to conduct negotiations with individual political parties, social organizations and patriotic personages.

"Those who join this coalition which aims to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, will be absolved from whatever crimes they committed before, and they must be allowed to take part in the coalition government to be formed after the country's reunification according to their merits and talents, and their property and social positions be safeguarded.

"One of the most important questions in facilitating the peaceful reunification of the country is to effect political, economic and cultural contacts, travels and correspondence between north and south Korea.

"For the exchange of goods needful to the livelihood of the people between the north and the south, we can supply electricity, coal and timber which the people of the southern half badly need; we will keep the doors open to all the delegations and individual personages who desire to come to the north for constructive and businesslike purposes, guaranteeing them the freedom of activities and providing them with every facility in the northern half.

"We hold that a permanent commission be set up which will discuss and take effective measures for all matters, ranging from the question of promoting contacts between the north and the south to that of reu-

nifying the country. And representatives of the governments, the highest legislative organs, political parties and social organizations and independent personages will participate in this commission by an equal ratio between north and south Korea."

President Kim Il Sung gave a more concrete form to this appeal of peaceful reunification. In his speech made at the first graduation ceremony of the Songdo Political Economy Institute in August 1957 President Kim Il Sung said: "We have this to say without hesitation to the south Korean authorities: 'We allow you to come to the northern half so that you may organize your party, organize your social organization as you want and carry on free activities as you please. And you allow us to come to the southern half so that we may organize our party and social organization and work. You may deliver speeches before our workers and peasants in the northern half. Instead, allow us to make speeches before the workers and peasants in the southern half.'" In his speech *On the Immediate Tasks of the People's Power in Socialist Construction* delivered at the Supreme People's Assembly session held in September that year, President Kim Il Sung said:

"To achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, a durable peace should be maintained in our country, to begin with.

"All the provisions of the Armistice Agreement should be observed to the letter and the armistice should be converted into a durable peace."

"The north and the south should refrain from an arms race, and should cut down their armed forces. We once again propose to the south Korean authorities that the strength of the north and south Korean armed forces be cut to 100,000 or less each. These measures will constitute one of the practical guarantees for the maintenance of a lasting peace in Korea and make it possible, before anything else, to lessen

the sufferings of the south Korean people caused by the excessive burden of military expenses."

And in his speech *The Korean People's Army Is the Successor to the Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle* delivered in February 1958, in connection with the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea, President Kim Il Sung said:

"The withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers will be a heavy blow to the enemy for the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

"There is no ground whatsoever for the US army to remain in south Korea. The US army must get out at once. After the return of the Chinese People's Volunteers, we will shout even more loudly the slogan: 'US army, get out of Korea!'"

(3) PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG'S EFFORT FOR INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA AND THE DEEPENING OF HIS THEORY ON IT

As mentioned in the foregoing chapter, since the August 15 liberation, President Kim Il Sung and the DPRK have consistently maintained that Korea should be reunified independently and peacefully along democratic lines, and already in 1948 a north-south joint conference was held with the attendance of broad political parties and social organizations. Nevertheless, US imperialism and its puppet Syngman Rhee provoked the Korean war. Even after the ceasefire there were repeated appeals from the north. In 1956 the north made a concrete proposal for effecting correspondence, cultural exchange and others, which have become the basis of the present

negotiations. Here special emphasis was laid on the principle of independent reunification. In his report delivered at the tenth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in September 1958, President Kim Il Sung said: "In the northern half of the Republic, the foundations of an independent economy have been laid and powerful heavy and light industry bases have been built. Electricity, coal, steel, cement, chemical fertilizer and others abundant in the northern half are the precious assets for our people to build Korea into a rich and strong, independent and sovereign state. We ardently desire that all the valuable riches we have created will be used to rehabilitate south Korea's economy and free its people from penury." This meant, above all, the independent development of south Korea which was completely subjugated economically by the United States.

In disregard of these consistent efforts Syngman Rhee and his ilk continued to follow the road to split and colonization, further submitting to US imperialism and intensifying their fascist terror rule. The Progressive Party which was formed in December 1955 as a legal political party of south Korean revolutionaries, put forward a programme of peaceful reunification against the policies of national split and fascistization, and in the presidential "election" held in 1956 in an atmosphere of repression and fraudulence, its leader obtained two million votes, a little smaller than those cast for Syngman Rhee. As this fact shows, the opposition to fascism and the demand for peaceful reunification received great support from the south Korean people. Scared at such a state of affairs, the US imperialists and their henchmen cracked down on the Progressive Party with fury and killed its leader Cho Bong Am.

In April 1960 a popular uprising broke out in south Korea. It was an uprising in which the

south Korean people rose against the Syngman Rhee's fascist tyranny and a struggle for rights and existence. As a result of this popular uprising, the Syngman Rhee regime was overthrown and the spearhead of struggle was gradually turned to US imperialism. The student youth and people put up the slogan: "Reunification is the only way to existence"; "Let's go north, come south, let's meet at Panmunjom!"

However, their struggle was not thoroughly carried to the end and failed to bring complete victory. With the "May 16 Military Coup" there appeared a fascist regime of military dictatorship. In August 1960, the same year, the DPRK proposed that a confederation of north and south Korea be established.

As a transitional step for restoring the ties of the split nation even before the attainment of complete reunification, it was designed to strengthen the economic, cultural and social relations and cooperation between the two areas, leaving the present political systems of the north and the south as they are for the time being. However, the military dictatorial regime which was following a policy of subordination to imperialism and intensifying fascist rule refused to respond to this constructive proposal.

The mounting people's struggle in 1960 failed to win a final victory. As for its reason, President Kim Il Sung pointed out that the broad masses of workers and peasants did not participate in it and there was no revolutionary vanguard party.

Summing up the south Korean people's struggle in the report on the work of the Central Committee at the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in September 1961, President Kim Il Sung said:

"The reunification of Korea is an internal affair of our nation which must be decided by the Korean people of their own free will. There can be no expression of the people's free will as long as the country is oc-

cupied by the imperialist aggressive forces and outside interference is tolerated. The prerequisite for genuine free elections is to force the US imperialist army of aggression out of Korea and to reject any interference from outside."

"We shall march hand in hand with those who struggle against US imperialism without asking about their past, their class background, social status, political views and religious beliefs. We will warmly welcome even those who in the past committed crimes against the homeland and the people provided they repent their crimes and openly support the country's peaceful reunification. And we will not fail to embrace them at all times after the reunification."

He further said in the report:

"We are now living in the age of the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system, in the great era of national-liberation revolution. Hundreds of millions of people who only yesterday were oppressed and exploited by foreign aggressors have won their freedom and independence, throwing off the colonial yoke. All the peoples of the world who groan under imperialist oppression are launching valiant struggles against the aggressors. The liquidation of colonialism is a trend of the times which no force can hold back.

"How can our nation, with its long history and time-honoured culture, put up with US imperialist colonial rule and tolerate national humiliation and persecution in this great age of national-liberation revolution?"

Thus in the report President Kim Il Sung linked the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system closely with the question of Korea's reunification. Though I will touch upon it below, the validity of his remarks finds expression in the solidarity of the Asian revolutionary forces and the defeat of US imperialism and in the recent advance towards reunifi-

cation. The substance of this was already referred to at that time.

President Kim Il Sung's concluding speech *Let Us Strengthen the Revolutionary Forces in Every Way to Achieve the Cause of Reunification of the Country* delivered at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea in February 1964 is noteworthy as a further theoretical development of the question of reunification on the basis already established.

In his concluding speech President Kim Il Sung said: "Three kinds of revolutionary forces should be well prepared in order to achieve the victory of our revolution: first, the revolutionary forces of north Korea; second, the revolutionary forces of south Korea; and third, the international revolutionary forces." He referred, first, to socialist construction in north Korea, the base of the revolution. With regard to the struggle of the south Korean people themselves and the building of a revolutionary vanguard party in south Korea, he said: "At present south Korea has a population twice as large as that of north Korea. We should not think of waging the struggle in place of the numerous south Korean people, but actively support them so that they may rise in battle for themselves. When all the popular masses of south Korea rise in revolutionary struggle, that will demonstrate formidable strength and lead to a great victory."

"...
"It can be said that the main force of the revolution has been built in south Korea only when there is a Party which has rooted itself deeply among the south Korean workers and peasants and when the Marxist-Leninist leading core is formed."

Besides, in the concluding speech President Kim Il Sung stated: "The victory of our revolution calls not only for the strengthening of the revolutionary forces at home but also for a further growth of

the international revolutionary forces. The Korean revolution is a link in the world revolution. US imperialism is the ringleader of international reaction and the common enemy of the progressive peoples of the whole world. Defeat of the US imperialists in Korea is closely related to their downfall on a world-wide scale. The further the world revolutionary forces are strengthened and the deeper the US imperialists are driven into a blind alley everywhere in the world, the further the foothold of the US imperialist aggressors will be weakened in south Korea and the sooner the victory of the Korean revolution will be won. That is why we should struggle to steadily consolidate the international revolutionary forces.” The idea of achieving and strengthening solidarity with the international revolutionary forces, defeating US imperialism and thus advancing the Korean revolution is now being put into effect by the unity and victory of the Asian revolutionary forces that link Korea and the Indochinese countries via China, and it is also from that idea that the situation of Korea is now developing in the direction of peaceful reunification. President Kim Il Sung’s words can be said to form the basis for considering the problems of the present time.

Another noteworthy point in his concluding speech is the following remark on the united front: **“There are two aspects of the united front—the top level and the rank and file.**

“In strengthening the revolutionary forces, it is, after all, essential to win over the masses. Therefore, the strengthening of the united front among the rank and file should be basic to the work of the united front. The united front on the top level cannot be solid and demonstrate great strength if it is not based on the united front of the rank and file.

“However, serious efforts should also be made to form a united front on the top level. A united front

with some of the progressive figures within the political parties of the ruling classes or with the top level of the middle-of-the-road parties provides favourable conditions for cementing the rank-and-file united front.

"In short, it is our basic policy in the united front work to strengthen the united front among the rank and file to win over the masses of all walks of life, and on this basis, to form a united front on the top level, under the condition that the leading role of the main force of the revolution is constantly enhanced."

This point, too, constitutes an important factor in examining the recent joint statement.

In his *Reply to the Letter of the President of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington* sent in January 1965, President Kim Il Sung pointed out that due to the division of Korea into the north and the south for 20 years, "as the days go by, the gap between the north and the south is growing wider in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life, and even the national characteristics common to our people, a homogeneous nation formed through a long history, are gradually becoming differentiated." After referring to such a phenomenon, he went on to say: "Reunification of the country is an urgent national task which cannot be postponed any longer." At the same time, in the reply he indicated concrete conditions and measures for the reunification as follows:

"We consider that the solution of the reunification question must not be obstructed by the interests of any party, grouping or privileged circle at the expense of the national interests, and that reunification must in any case be accomplished in a democratic way, in accordance with the general will of the entire Korean people, and not by one side forcing its will on the other side. We do not allow anyone to impose his will upon us and we, on our part, do not intend

to force our will on others. We have always maintained that the authorities, political parties, social organizations and individual personalities of north and south Korea should sit down together and negotiate sincerely and open-heartedly to solve the question of reunification.

“...
“

“We consider that any attempt to reunify the country by relying on outside forces is nothing but an illusion and is designed to leave the whole of Korea in the hands of the imperialist aggressors.

“The question of Korean reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people which admits no interference from outside forces. The Korean question must be settled by the Koreans themselves. Foreigners are not in a position to solve the internal affairs of our nation.

“Ours is a resourceful and civilized nation, fully capable of solving its national problem by itself.”

These points serve as a direct basis for the question of reunification at present, too, and through them, we can understand what was at the root of bringing about the “joint statement”. In the reply letter we should also pay attention to the following point: “Even after the present rulers of south Korea staged a military coup and seized power, we repeatedly advanced a number of proposals of national salvation aimed at removing the national calamity and accelerating the reunification of the country, in the sincere hope that they would return to a national position.”

(4) THE REVIVAL OF JAPANESE MILITARISM AND THE NORTH-SOUTH REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

With the conclusion of the "Japan-ROK treaty" in 1965 as a momentum, a new dangerous situation was created in the Far East. In this connection, President Kim Il Sung pointed out in his report *The Present Situation and the Tasks of Our Party* delivered at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea in October 1966 that the US imperialists plotted to rig up a new military alliance in Asia on the basis of the "Japan-ROK treaty". Then he said:

"These moves of the US imperialists are intended to unleash another war in Korea, using south Korea as an advance base and the Japanese militarist forces as a shock brigade, and to make it easy to mobilize south Korea's military potentials for their aggressive war in Asia." In such a stage the revived Japanese militarism, availing itself of the conclusion of the "Japan-ROK treaty", embarked on the road to its domination over south Korea and became a new danger along with US imperialism. Therefore, President Kim Il Sung said: **"Only by overthrowing the US imperialist forces of aggression and their henchmen, can the south Korean people achieve freedom and liberation, and only by smashing the Japanese militarist attempt at renewed aggression, can they extricate themselves from the danger of new calamities."** This comment on the revival of Japanese militarism was commonly recognized by the two countries of Korea and China in their statement issued later.

Moreover, through his *Reply to the Letter of the President of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington* in January 1967, President Kim Il Sung demanded the south Korean authorities to accept the following provisions:

- First, to demand the withdrawal of the US aggression army;
- Second, to stop the criminal dispatch of troops to Viet Nam and completely evacuate the "ROK" troops already dispatched;
- Third, to abrogate the treacherous "ROK-Japan agreements";
- Fourth, to release all the political "offenders" and patriots who have been arrested and imprisoned on a charge of having fought for the cause of national reunification;
- Fifth, to stop fascist repression, guarantee democratic freedom in a social and political life such as the freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration and allow free discussions about the country's reunification.

A particularly important point here, in addition to the points repeatedly proposed before, is that he made clear that the struggle against the US imperialist war of aggression on Viet Nam and against Japanese militarism was closely related to the reunification of Korea. And in his answers to the questions raised by the Iraqi News Agency in July 1969, President Kim Il Sung said: **"The US imperialists are now on the decline; they are facing fierce anti-imperialist national-liberation struggles of the people and being hit harder everywhere in the world."** In the same month, answering the questions raised by the General Manager of Dar-El-Tahrir for Printing and Publishing of the

United Arab Republic, President Kim Il Sung said: **"Imperialism should not be underestimated, of course, but it should not be overestimated, either. Imperialism, US imperialism above all, is already on the decline."** All these points have constituted a basis for the acceleration of Korean reunification under the condition that the revolutionary forces of Asia have been united and become triumphant since 1970.

The issue of a Korean-Chinese statement in April 1970 and the subsequent summit conference of the Indochinese nations brought about unity of the front of the anti-US revolutionary forces in the whole area extending from Korea to Cambodia via China and inflicted a defeat upon US imperialism. As mentioned above, President Kim Il Sung defined the following conditions for Korea's reunification: first, successful socialist construction in north Korea; second, the growth of the revolutionary forces along with the founding of a vanguard party in south Korea; and third, the firm solidarity of the revolutionary countries and all the anti-imperialist forces for the maximum isolation and weakening of the US imperialists on an international scale. Now, the first condition has been fulfilled; the second has already been met as a result of the founding of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in South Korea; and the third, too, has been performed as seen above.

It was under these circumstances that the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea was convened in November 1970. In his report delivered at the Congress President Kim Il Sung said: **"...today Asia has become the fiercest battle front, the main arena of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The US imperialists are directing the spearhead of aggression against Asia precisely because in this area there are many revolutionary countries, fighting countries, and the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement is going ahead with great strength there and**

the imperialists' foothold is shaken to its very foundation."

"Today the aggression of US imperialism unites all the revolutionary Asian countries in a single front against it." This implies that the unity of the Asian revolutionary forces is bringing defeat to US imperialism and this will have an advantageous effect on the reunification of Korea.

It was under the above-mentioned situation that the "Appeal of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the South Korean Fellow Countrymen, Brothers and Sisters and the Personages of Political Parties and Public Organizations" was published on April 13, 1971. In his speech delivered at the Supreme People's Assembly session on April 12 Foreign Minister of the DPRK said: "Today the wilder the enemy runs, the more firmly the peoples of the three countries of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia are hardening their revolutionary determination and fighting will to wipe out the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges to the last one and liberate the whole of Indochina by fighting determinedly in firm unity upholding the joint declaration of the Summit Conference of the Peoples of Indochina. Thus, they are dealing heavy blows at the aggressors one after another on all fronts and shattering 'Vietnamization' of the war plan and the heinous plot of the 'Nixon doctrine' to make Indochinese fight Indochinese, and Asians fight Asians." The appeal points out: "The US imperialists occupying south Korea, in conspiracy and league with the Japanese militarists, are further stepping up the policies of aggression and war and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique, their zealous followers, are getting more unscrupulous in their treachery against the nation." "Our country is the first target of attack in Japanese militarism's overseas aggression. The Japanese militarists have already

made their way deep into south Korea and are acting the master second only to the US imperialists." Referring to the creation of such a dangerous situation, the appeal notes that if it continues, "south Korea will be reduced to a dual colony of the US and Japanese aggressors". And, suggesting the way out of such calamity, it states: "It lies in resolutely smashing the new war provocation moves of the US imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique and the reinvasion scheme of the Japanese militarists, with united force of the whole nation, and tightly holding the destiny of the nation in our own hand and in achieving the independent peaceful reunification of the fatherland by the joint efforts of the north and the south." It goes on as follows: "It is our invariable line to sweep away all the foreign aggressor forces and quislings from south Korea and solve the question of the country's reunification by the efforts of the Korean people themselves in a peaceful way, without interference of any outside forces." Then the appeal puts forward the following concrete 8-point proposal for national salvation:

1. To make the US imperialist aggressor troops withdraw from south Korea and solve the national question by the efforts of the Korean people themselves on the principles of national self-determination;
2. To reduce the armed forces in north and south Korea to 100,000 or less each and lighten the heavy burdens of military expenses to relax the tension and guarantee a durable peace in our country and jointly counter the aggression of the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists;
3. To abolish and declare invalid the "ROK-US mutual defence pact," the "ROK-Japan agreements" and all other treacherous and enslaving treaties and agreements concluded with foreign

countries against the interests of the nation and oppose all forms of interference in the domestic affairs by foreign aggressor forces and attain national sovereignty;

4. To hold free north-south general elections on the principles of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot in a completely democratic atmosphere in which the freedom of the expression of the will by the people is fully guaranteed, without interference by any outside force, and establish a unified democratic central government representing the general will of the entire Korean people;

5. To ensure the people of all walks of life in south Korea the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, demonstration and strike and all other democratic rights, release all the political prisoners who have been arrested and imprisoned on a charge of having called for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland and guarantee all the political parties, public organizations and individual personages of north and south Korea the conditions for freely conducting political activities in any area of the country;

6. To establish a Confederation of north and south Korea as a transitional step for solving the urgent problems of common concern of the nation and hastening the national reunification, leaving the differing socio-political systems in the north and the south intact, if need be, prior to complete reunification;

7. To promote the economic intercourse and mutual cooperation in the spheres of science, culture, art and sports between the north and the south and bring to realization the travel of personages and correspondence to alleviate the suffering of the people resulting from the split and restore the severed ties of the nation;

8. To hold a political consultative meeting of the north and the south for discussing the immediate tasks of the nation and solving the question of the country's reunification.

This concrete proposal was made under the situation in which the danger of US imperialism and Japanese militarism was to be seriously apprehended, whereas the conditions for peaceful reunification were created more favourably than ever before inside and outside Korea. The US imperialists suffered an ignominious defeat in the Indochinese area in face of the solidarity of the Asian revolutionary forces. In his speech delivered on August 6, 1971, to welcome Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, President Kim Il Sung said: **"US imperialism is now confronted with an ever more serious crisis at home and abroad. In the United States, the anti-war and anti-government movements are gaining momentum on a mass scale, economic stagnation and inflation continue, unemployment is growing and the international balance of payments is constantly being aggravated. Social unrest increases day by day and the contradictions within the ruling circles have become extremely sharp."**

"All facts show that imperialism is collapsing at a very great speed in our time." In these words President Kim Il Sung confirmed the US imperialists' defeat resulting from the solidarity of the Asian revolutionary forces. In his concluding speech made at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea in February 1964 President Kim Il Sung stressed the necessity of reinforcing the revolutionary base in north Korea, and strengthening the revolutionary forces in south Korea, and said: **"The victory of our revolution calls not only for the strengthening of the revolutionary forces at home but also for a further growth of the international**

revolutionary forces.” The above welcome speech represented a declaration of victory proving the complete fulfilment of that very condition. The present move towards the reunification of the north and the south in accordance with the North-South Joint Statement has its background, above all, in that point.

(5) THE STRENGTHENING OF SOLIDARITY OF THE ASIAN REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND THE SERIOUS DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM

The year 1971 showed all the more glaring evidences of US imperialism's defeat. On October 25, at the UN General Assembly the People's Republic of China restored her legal rights in the United Nations. As an editorial of *Rodong Sinmun* dated October 28, pointed out, it was “another great historical event in the political arena of the world after World War II”.

Such being the situation, there was an increasing tendency towards north-south dialogue and peaceful reunification in Korea in 1972. On January 10 that year, in answer to the questions raised by newsmen of *Yomiuri Shimbun*, President Kim Il Sung said: “As our policy for peaceful reunification enjoys the unanimous support not only of the Korean people but of the broad public opinion of the world, and the tendency towards peaceful reunification increases in south Korea, even the south Korean authorities who had previously rejected any contact between the north and the south, were obliged, under the pressure of these trends, to attend the north-south Red Cross talks. I think that the preliminary talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations held at

Panmunjom are belated and have a limited scope of problems under discussion, but they are very significant since Koreans themselves have come together to discuss the nation's internal affairs. It can be said that this is a step forward in our people's struggle for peacefully reunifying the divided country." "We are ready to negotiate with the Democratic Republican Party, the New Democratic Party, the Nationalist Party and all other political parties in south Korea at any time and at any agreed place." The May 12th issue of *Minju Choson* reported that the voices demanding interchange in different fields of culture, sports and the economy and independent, peaceful reunification were mounting higher in south Korea, too. A commentary of the Korean Central News Agency dated on May 29 pointed out: "Japan's monopoly capital is running amuck to realize its ambition of imperialist overseas expansion on the basis of the established economic monopoly and political supremacy." Like this, the expansion of the tendency toward north-south negotiations and peaceful reunification is also due to the increase of Japan's militarist and imperialist threat to Korea. According to the aforesaid agency's report of June 2, another grave reason for it is that as a result of the US imperialists' "dollar defence" policy more than 80 per cent of the south Korean "loan enterprises" which have been considered to be comparatively advantageous in economic conditions are thrown into a serious crisis of management, and the total production index, too, has sharply decreased to aggravate the crisis of the south Korean economy. The book entitled *Dollar Crisis and the South Korean Economy* noted that a parity raise was imposed upon Japan and West European countries, and yet devaluation was forced only upon south Korea so that its economic crisis became further aggravated.

In his talk with journalists of *The New York Times*

on May 26, President Kim Il Sung emphasized again: "The Korean peninsula is now cut into two parts. If the US troops pull out of south Korea and foreign interference stops, the Koreans will be able to find a common denominator which will enable them to reunify their country by themselves." He went on to say: "The difference in social systems in the north and the south must not be made an obstacle to the promotion of national unity and the attainment of reunification."

A *Rodong Sinmun* article carried in the May 31, 1972 issue under the caption "National Reunification Is the Greatest National Duty and Most Urgent Task of the Entire Korean People", says: "The south Korean 'regime' is a puppet 'regime' which acts thoroughly under instructions from the US imperialists and serves their policy of aggression and war." "As time passes, the gap between the north and the south is becoming wider in all fields of the political, economic and cultural life and even the national characteristics common to our people, a homogeneous nation formed through a long history, are gradually becoming differentiated. It is our people's greatest national duty and urgent task to eliminate the ill fate of the country at an early date and achieve the country's reunification. The reason lies, above all, in that it is an important matter related to the vital demand of our nation for attaining the complete independence of the country." "While leaving this miserable plight as it is, none of the Korean Communists and none of the conscientious Korean nationalists can say that they have discharged their duty. We must carry out the south Korean revolution and reunify the divided fatherland in our generation." (What merits attention in this article is that it points out: "Although the socialist revolution has been carried out and socialist construction is being accelerated in the northern half of the Republic, our revolution is in the stage of the

national-liberation, people's democratic revolution on a nationwide scale.")

Some detailed and important articles had been published from June 1972 to July 4, the day when the North-South Joint Statement was announced. On June 8, Chairman of the Korean Democratic Party gave a talk. In his talk he quoted President Kim Il Sung's words: **"It is possible that a country may have different political systems and that people with different beliefs may live together in one country."** Then he said: "Of course, it is a fact that there are differences in systems, ideals and beliefs between the north and the south. I think, however, that in order to promote national unity and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country we should transcend these differences and should not impose one's system and ideal upon the other side." "Now a broader way has opened up before us for reunifying the country peacefully without fighting each other within the one and the same nation, rising above the differences of systems and ideals." On June 15, in its editorial entitled "If the US Army Gets Out of South Korea and the North and South Korean People Are United, the Country's Reunification Will Be Achieved Early" *Rodong Sinmun* pointed out: "The Korean people is a resourceful people fully capable of reunifying the country by themselves; they can soon accomplish the cause of reunification, the supreme task of the nation, if the US imperialist aggression army is withdrawn from south Korea." "What is important here is to unite the strength of the entire people of north and south Korea and, for this, to effect contacts and negotiations between the north and the south." "Without meeting each other and having talks it is neither possible to remove distrust and misunderstanding nor feasible to understand each other deeply and find common denominators." "These days the south Korean rulers are clamouring for the independent reunification of the

country, advocating, though in words only, 'self-help', 'self-reliance', 'self-defence'. If we interpret this favourably, we can see some similarity with the idea of independence, self-reliance and self-defence which we advocate. If we find and develop these similarity and common denominators through the north-south contacts and negotiations, it will be possible to achieve national reconciliation and unity." "Today even many of the countries and nations of the world with differing languages, ideals, beliefs and systems are uniting each other for the common cause of peace and social progress against the imperialist policy of aggression and war. There is no ground or condition, therefore, that we, one and the same nation, cannot unite for the solution of the problems related to the existence of the nation. If all people feel keenly the present tragic situation caused by national split and are filled with a lofty spirit of devotion to their country and people, a high sense of national responsibility and a strong determination to reunify the country in our generation and hand the unified fatherland down to the coming generations, they will fully be able to transcend the differences of systems and ideals and stand together". Thus, the idea that the differences of ideals, beliefs and systems should be exceeded for achieving national unity was emphasized and concretized. As can be seen in the above articles, the July 4 Joint Statement was made public entirely on the initiative of the DPRK.

The June 17 issue of *Rodong Sinmun* carried a visitor's account of the north-south Red Cross talks held in Panmunjom under the caption: "The Day Will Surely Come When the Separated Fellow Countrymen Hold Their Reunion and Live Together in a Family." It reads: "The south Korean side persisted in confining work to searching the 'addresses of the family members' on the pretext of 'urgent relief' and 'stages' and was dead set against the free travel of suffering

compatriots, saying: 'It runs counter to the character of the Red Cross.' " However, it goes on: "If the full-dress talks are held successfully, the sufferings of the compatriots caused by the split will be lessened to a considerable extent." From the ensuing developments we can see that a big headway was being made towards the July 4 Joint Statement.

But the successful convocation of the north-south Red Cross talks and the preparation of the Joint Statement on the initiative of the DPRK were arranged in the midst of a relentless confrontation with the south Korean reactionaries. Scared at the economic crisis at home and the growing tendency towards peaceful reunification, the Pak Jung Hi clique proclaimed a "martial law" and murdered a large number of patriots. Denouncing Pak Jung Hi and his ilk for proclaiming the "martial law" and for instilling a "threat of southward armed invasion", an article of the June 26th issue of *Rodong Sinmun* entitled "Whipping Up 'North-South Confrontation' Is an Expansive Delusion of a Stupid", pointed out: "Talking of 'peaceful reunification' and the like, the traitor Pak Jung Hi said that he had no intention of using armed force for the solution of the reunification question. Why then does he go against the unanimous desire of the entire people for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country and turn his back on our proposal to have contacts and negotiations between the north and the south for finding out its way? And why did he proclaim a 'state of emergency' in south Korea and why is he suppressing the people demanding peaceful reunification, begging for the permanent presence of the US imperialist aggression army in south Korea and kicking up frenzied war hysteria, even bringing Japanese militarists into south Korea? He prattles about peaceful reunification on one hand and on the other whips up north-south 'confrontation'. Does this not mean that he will continuously follow

the war line, that is, 'reunification by prevailing over communism' and 'northward expedition for reunification', while camouflaging his war mania with a headpiece of peace?" "If the south Korean rulers truly want the country's independent, peaceful reunification, they should give up their useless delusion of confrontation with us and accept our proposal on the north-south contacts and negotiations for seeking a way to national reunification."

(6) ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NORTH-SOUTH JOINT STATEMENT AND THE INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

North-south high-level talks were held in Pyongyang and Seoul between May 2 and 5, 1972 and between May 29 and June 1, and the North-South Joint Statement was published in both areas simultaneously on July 4. In the first provision the statement confirmed the following principles: "Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference; Secondly, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; Thirdly, great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system." As already pointed out in many materials, President Kim Il Sung and the DPRK have invariably held to the independent, peaceful reunification of the nation from the day of Japan's defeat, and, as early as 1948, succeeded in convoking a north-south joint conference represented by all political parties and groupings in the north and the south. Nevertheless, the US im-

perialists, who intended to make Korea their colony, and their lackeys turned down the ardent desire of the Korean people and the repeated proposals from the north, taking the road of subjecting the country to foreign country and making it reactionary. Summing up the efforts so far made by President Kim Il Sung and the DPRK, *Rodong Sinmun's* July 5th editorial entitled "An Important Event That Stirs the Whole Nation Aspiring for Reunification", pointed out as follows: "Indeed, the north-south high-level talks and their results marked an epochal event that has made a big breach on the road to the country's independent, peaceful reunification. It is a great victory for our people." "The Joint Statement pointed out that reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference. This implies the solution of the most fundamental problem in realizing the cause of reunification. It cannot but be an important event in our people's struggle for national reunification." "Today in the world there are quite a few instances in which many nations at different stages of development live together in one country. Much more, there is no ground whatsoever for us, one and the same nation, failing to unite because of differences." An article entitled "Confidence in Korean Reunification and Its Prospect" which was carried in the magazine *Sekai* attached epochal significance to the following two points: "The south Korean authorities have accepted President Kim Il Sung's consistent Juche-based proposal on national reunification and confirmed it in the Joint Statement as the basic orientation for the country's reunification"; and "The north and south Korean authorities have sat down together at one place to discuss the principled and practical problems for the country's reunification and reached an agreement on them for the first time since the division of Korea into the north and the south after World War

II." As soon as the Joint Statement was announced, political parties, press organs, cultural and social organizations in the south as well as in the north supported it in succession. Many people shouted "Long live General Kim Il Sung!" and were detained under the notorious "Anti-Communist Law". Besides, the world public opinion, too, extended unstinted support to the Joint Statement. In particular, Chinese *Renmin Ribao* and other papers carried the full text of the Joint Statement and pointed out: "We highly appreciate the justness of the three principles of the country's independent, peaceful reunification laid down by President Kim Il Sung. The North-South Joint Statement is a victorious fruit of the Korean people." Commenting on the fact that thirteen countries including Algeria jointly submitted to the 27th UN General Assembly Session the subject for discussion: "To create favourable conditions for the acceleration of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea" on July 17 *Renmin Ribao* carried an editorial under the caption: "Just Stand, Logical Assertion". The editorial noted: "Now a new situation has been created in the Korean peninsula. Both the north and south of Korea have reached an agreement on the question of the independent, peaceful reunification of the fatherland. The Joint Statement of both sides, affirming the three principles of national reunification set forth by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people, stresses the necessity of solving the reunification question independently and peacefully without relying on any outside force and its interference. The Joint Statement of the north and south of Korea reflects the ardent aspiration of the entire Korean people, and the delightful first step forward has been made towards the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. The subject submitted by the thirteen countries including Algeria is a very timely one reflecting a new situation on the

Korean peninsula and representing the general voices of the justice-loving countries and peace-loving peoples of the world. Basing itself on such development of the present situation in Korea, the United Nations should take the subject submitted by Algeria and other countries as an urgent one and bear the responsibility of placing it on the agenda of the coming 27th UN General Assembly Session. When the UN General Assembly discusses the Korean question it should allow the representative of the DPRK, the party concerned, to take part in the discussion." "In active response to the just request of the Korean people the forthcoming UN General Assembly Session should reexamine the questions of the activity of the 'UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea' and of the presence of the 'UN Command' in south Korea and create conditions favourable for the acceleration of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea." "It is now an irresistible trend that the people of all countries wish to become masters of their country against the domination and interference of great powers and defend their state power and national rights. We firmly believe that the Korean people's struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the fatherland will arouse the warm sympathy of the world people and enjoy their active support and will overcome various obstacles and surely achieve new victories in succession."

Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and the Association of South Korean Residents in Japan, in defiance of the obstructive manoeuvres of the latter's some reactionary cadres, held joint meetings in Tokyo and many other places of Japan.

Like this, broad sections of people in Korea and the rest of the world express their support for Korea's reunification. But, US imperialism and its pup-

pets are running amuck to hamper it. On July 5, 1972, a spokesman of the US State Department said that even if north and south Korea held talks for peaceful reunification, the United States would continue to step up its plan for the modernization of the south Korean army, would not further reduce the number of the US armed forces in south Korea, and would hold consultation to place the south Korean authorities in a position of "real power".

In this context, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the DPRK issued a statement on July 8. The statement pointed out: "It is another intolerable open challenge to the Korean people; it clearly reveals the black-hearted intention of the US imperialists to break the north-south dialogue and keep up tension in Korea against the trend of the times." "The recent provocative words of the US State Department spokesman themselves clearly prove again that either the elimination of tension in Korea or the final solution of the peaceful reunification question is impossible so long as the US imperialist aggression army stays in south Korea." After the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement some of the south Korean authorities stated at the "National Assembly" and in other places: "We cannot entrust our destiny to a few sheets of this statement, nor can we believe in it." "The people should not have expectations for the North-South Joint Statement." "We do not regard the UN as an outside force. And the UN Forces stationed in south Korea and the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea are also not foreign forces. This is clear, so we will reject it regardless of how the north interprets it in the way of drawing water into one's own paddy." "Korea should be reunified by a UN supervised election." It is obvious to everyone that these are nothing but sophistries of the US imperialists and their stooges who are driven into a cul-de-sac.

MATERIALIZATION OF THE FIVE-POINT PROGRAMME WILL GREATLY FACILITATE KOREA'S REUNIFICATION

U. H. Khan

Vice Editor-in-Chief of
the Pakistani Newspaper
The New Times

The brave people of Korea who have lived under the banner of one homogeneous nation for 5,000 years, had to undergo severe tribulation, at the hands of the US imperialists who split their country into two parts nearly thirty years ago.

The peace, aspirations and yearnings of the brave Korean people since then have been badly shattered. The reunification of their motherland would herald the ushering in of an era, for which the Koreans are ever ready to make unprecedented sacrifices.

For the last three decades the only objective before the Korean people has been to make away with the division of their country. Old and young, men and women have dedicated themselves to the noble task of reunification, which would ensure great honour to their country in the comity of nations. Under the brilliant guidance of the respected and beloved leader, President Kim Il Sung, the efforts and the sacrifices of the Korean people are bound to result

in the reunification of their motherland to the joy of all peace-loving people of the world.

It would be indeed a contribution to the world's peace. Until the fate of the Korean people hangs in balance and unless the artificial division of their homeland does become a story of the past, the hope for world peace would be an illusion.

Asia and the Far East would continue to be threatened by the outbreak of war, which may engulf distant parts of the globe and thus unleash colossal destruction on humanity. No wonder why those who hold security and peace in the Far East and Asia dear to their hearts have been united in raising one voice for the reunification of Korea.

History bears out the uniformity in everything among the Korean people since time immemorial. They are of the same blood and flesh. Conspicuous by its absence is any variation in language, alphabet, culture and custom. Even the people poles apart in language and culture have held together steadfastly to the pursuit of common objectives under the banner of one nationhood.

It is indeed the height of hypocrisy that in spite of the fact that the language, alphabet and culture are the same, the Korean people have been subjected to the agony of the division of their country. The question of Korea's reunification gains manifold importance because it would be the reunification of one and the same territory and nation.

The respected and beloved leader of the Korean people, President Kim Il Sung, has declared that the question of Korea's reunification should be solved by the Korean people themselves independently and by peaceful means on democratic principles without interference of any outside forces.

This solution is a manifestation of the aspirations of the Korean people. It has been correctly pointed

out that since this is the internal problem of the Koreans it should be solved only by themselves.

It is the Korean people who have been the victims of mechanism of imperialism. It is they who have withstood the brutalities in the defence of their homeland for decades. It is they who have been subjected to pangs of agony for the fulfilment of their goal. It is they who sacrificed their near and dear ones in the cause of their country. It is they who have undergone severe ordeals for years. So why should any foreign power be invested with the authority to decide their future?

It is the Korean people and only they who are fighting the conspiracy of division at present, for the glorious reunification in the future. It is they who by thousands have laid down their lives so that no foreign force should ever dream of meddling in their internal affairs.

The beloved and the great leader President Kim Il Sung stated that this problem should be solved by peaceful means. The far-sightedness of the great Korean leader is amply demonstrated by this assertion. The beloved leader, who is himself a great military genius has led his forces to spectacular victories on the battlefields against the heavily equipped US imperialists. He is keen to spare the world the wrath of war.

It is peace only which will enable the Korean people to exercise their right to self-determination.

The great leader of the Korean people President Kim Il Sung has let it be known all over the world that his people firmly believe in the reunification of the country through the democratic principles. It is the people who have been blessed with the authority and right to decide their own future.

The civilized principle of self-determination would be put into practice by the Koreans even for the realization of their most cherished goal. It is an esta-

blished fact that all the Koreans to the man would rise to the occasion for making it a momentous decision in the annals of history.

The imperialists who have sustained severe setbacks on the military front at the hands of the great Korean people are bound to meet their disaster on this front as well. It is because of this fear that their puppets in south Korea have adopted negative attitude to the massively popular demand of the people for their right to exercise self-determination. They are well aware of the fact that their days are numbered.

The policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is based on the principle of their beloved leader President Kim Il Sung's great Juche idea. According to this magnificent idea, one is responsible for one's own destiny. This, in fact, is the idea which has spurred men to the heights of glory. No man can ever contemplate of success in his mission unless he reposes full trust in himself and works persistently to bring about his objective.

The harder one works, the better the chances for one's success. The people of Korea, who without a moment's relaxation have been working day and night for the last thirty years for the reunification of their country have full confidence in the success of their mission. The people of both north and south Korea, by believing firmly in the great Juche idea, have let it be known that they would not rest content until the full prosperity in the form of reunification is restored to their homeland. Knowing fully well that it is by their own efforts to shape their destiny, they are bound to succeed in their mission. After establishing this basic policy for Korea's reunification, the respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung laid down a plan constituting a series of magnificent proposals for its early realisation. Fully clarified in these proposals are the ways and

means to realize the goal of national reunification to the satisfaction of all.

These proposals clearly respond to the demand of all and sundry for the holding of north-south general elections, without outside interference and after the foreign forces have been ousted from south Korea. This is fully in keeping with the civilized norms of the world. Let the world see for itself and let the history record the fact that the scientific method of ascertaining the people's own will has been given completely free chance to be brought into full play. This could be conducted with success only if there was no pressure from without.

With the most technologically advanced and heavily equipped foreign forces stationed on the Korean soil, it would be a futile exercise. These forces which time and again, had been dealt with severely by the magnitude of the Korean people's courage would have to be disposed of, which is fully in accordance with the people's wishes.

The foreign forces which contributed to the masses' agony would have to pack up to ensure free and fair election. Never have the elections been based on justice and fair play when held under the threat of bayonets. Nor in any country have the people ever voted for their own future, for their own affairs in the presence of others.

The great revolutionary leader President Kim Il Sung has also made it clear that the Korean reunification would be preceded by instituting north-south Confederation as an interim step. He has also proposed north-south collaborations, cultural intercourse, reduction of armed forces in the north and the south, mutual visit and correspondence between the north and the south.

All these steps augur for the positive contribution to the solution of the problem. The proposals are such that they are most simple to understand and to im-

plement, but at the behest of imperialism the south Korean rulers have always betrayed their foolishness in turning deaf ear to these proposals.

By adopting negative attitude to the positive plan the regime of south Korea have invited their own destruction. By playing into the hands of imperialism they are only prolonging the agony of their people, who would ultimately triumph only to the agony of these imperialist agents. It is due to the evil practices and the presence of such stooges that the peace in the region could be shattered in no time. It is those who at the behest of the enemies of the Korean people have completely taken leave of their senses. They are certainly not oblivious to the popular and completely justified demand of reunification but just for their own selfish ends they have shamelessly bartered away their conscience.

The great legendary genius of Korean revolution President Kim Il Sung has declared his readiness for frank discussion with any party and individual from south Korea on the question of reunification. This is yet another manifestation of his broad-mindedness and large-heartedness.

President Kim Il Sung's deep scientific analysis of the situation in south Korea has rightly led him to the realistic conclusion of the serious trouble that lies ahead for the imperialists and their stooges. The beating of the hearts of south Koreans in unison with their brothers in the north has completely unnerved the south Korean rulers. On realising their predicament President Kim Il Sung has shown gesture which can greatly help relieve them of their misery. They still have time to ward off the punishment by availing themselves of the golden chance that has been given to them by President Kim Il Sung.

The sentiments and feelings which were already at height for the reunification of the country in the south have touched new pinnacles to bring about the

desired result. Their determination to put an end to fascism once for all has taken a new turn to the great bewilderment of the south Korean rulers. There have been huge rallies of south Korean nationals in foreign countries drawing the world's attention to the necessity of early reunification.

The splendid policy of the DPRK calling for the north-south dialogue in 1971 has been responded by the people with the enthusiasm that has given a severe jolt to the hostile powers. This policy brought a thaw to the long-standing stage of freeze between the north and the south of Korea. To the joy of all, it opened a new chapter in the struggle for reunification.

The south Korean rulers found themselves helpless before the pressure of their own people. Nor could they resist the world's public opinion. Those who had always offered tough resistance to any initiative for the north-south dialogue found their safety by going to the conference table though much against their will.

North and south Korean Red Cross organizations held talks for the first time in September 1971 to be followed by the high-level contacts in 1972.

This in itself was yet one more victory for President Kim Il Sung's splendid policy to achieve reunification. A solid foundation for Korea's reunification was laid.

The great leader of the Korean people President Kim Il Sung in his historic speech on June 23 spelt out anew the policy for reunification. The beloved leader laid down a five-point programme which can pave the way for the reunification in the most cordial and reasonable manner. This policy which drew enthusiastic response from the Korean masses throughout the north and the south could relieve the present situation of difficulty in the way of reunification.

The five-point plan's implementation would greatly help expedite the reunification. The hope which was lit for reunification about one year ago has become dim. The new policy based on five points can infuse new spirit into the issue.

The first point that has been set forth by the respected leader President Kim Il Sung aims at the eradication of military confrontation and easing of tension between the north and the south. This, in fact, would be followed by the improvement of relations between the north and the south. The cordial relations are always a prerequisite for satisfactory solution to the problems.

Without the elimination of military confrontation any attempt at improvement of relations would go in vain. The lack of trust in each other would be the natural outcome of the military confrontation. How could the two trust while staring down the barrels of guns at each other? How could the two improve relations while holding bayonets at the ready? How could there be ease in tension while one was bringing in sophisticated equipment to bear upon the other?

No doubt, it is a good formula for changing the present state of distrust into relations of harmony and trust upon each other. The prevailing tension could be effectively dealt with, if the military confrontation that has greatly hampered the chances for improvement of relations between the north and the south is done away with.

When the DPRK has extended its hand of friendship it has done so in absolutely good faith. This friendly gesture should be reciprocated by the rulers of south Korea with the feelings and the sentiments that it deserves.

President Kim Il Sung has called for conclusion of a peace agreement and the reduction of troops to an agreed number on both sides. This would be an

initial step towards an ultimate goal of putting an end to confrontation.

Once reduction of troops got underway, it would lead to the further cutback in their number. The dwindling in quantity of the armed forces would encourage the extension of more friendly gestures.

The second proposal in the great leader President Kim Il Sung's five-point programme for reunification envisages many-sided collaboration and interchange in all fields. It in fact sets forth new avenues for reunification. The interchange between north and south in the political, military, economic and cultural fields that this point suggests for the reunification would go a long way for the achievement of the desired reunification.

The exchange of frequent visits would set pace for the most cherished goal of the Korean people. The exchange of opinion would not go unrewarded. It would create confidence. When the political leaders would sit down at the conference table the south Korean leaders would regret their past and certainly try to make amends by revising their notorious policy.

The political misgivings and differences in the minds of the leaders of south Korea would be replaced with the uniformity in approach to the various problems. This in fact would lay solid foundation for the reunification. Various issues which demand prompt attention could be successfully tackled with.

But all this would be possible in the presence of the proper atmosphere which the DPRK Government has always been emphasizing upon.

For the successful collaboration in the economic sphere the DPRK Government has suggested joint ventures in various fields. Natural deposits which prevail in abundance in the northern part could be successfully exploited to the benefit of the people in the southern part. Similarly joint efforts for search-

ing fishing grounds and catching fish could yield useful results for both the parts.

The wealth and property of north and south belong to the people of Korea. It should be placed at the disposal of the Korean people irrespective of the fact whether they reside in north or south. It is their country, it is their sweat and blood which irrespective of the north and south discrimination has been shed for the country's reunification.

The respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung's suggestion for collaboration in scientific and cultural fields merits serious consideration for harmonizing relations between the north and the south. This would bring the scholars together who would add new chapter to the efforts for reunification by their combined research in the history of the Korean people. This would bring knowledge of the glorious past of the nation to the younger generation.

Such a collaboration, in fact, would also be the inauguration of new avenues for reunification. They could adopt each other's achievements in the scientific field for economic uplift of the masses.

The gigantic industrial progress in the north could be placed at the service of the people of the south. This would achieve manifold purposes. Dependence upon the foreign aid for people in the south would give place to confidence and prosperity which they would ensure on their own efforts and on their own resources.

The magnificent culture of the Korean people which history has recorded as one since the time immemorial but which due to the evil designs of imperialists and their stooges could not be depicted as such, would once again come to the forefront as one and only one to the admiration of the whole world. The joint cultural troupes of north and south in their visits to foreign lands would leave behind the ever-

lasting impression of the Korean cultural glory. These are the hard facts, which should be seriously pondered over by the rulers in south Korea, if they really care for the interests of their masses.

Collaboration in the sports and games would also be a step in the right direction. The joint teams' victory would not add to the reputation of one particular part of the country but the honour would be equally shared by all parts of the country.

The third point in the respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung's five-point programme emphasizes upon the masses of people from all walks of life in the north and the south to participate in the nationwide patriotic work for national reunification.

This point of the great Korean leader merits as serious consideration as the other four. It opens the door for the contribution to the reunification programmes of the country to the whole lot, irrespective of their background. The talented will get a golden chance to put in their versatility for well-being of their countrymen. The others who will work shoulder to shoulder with the pride of the nation would naturally be prompted to work harder for the same classification. The beneficiaries would be their own countrymen. This would instil respect and admiration for one another and thus more the chances for peaceful reunification.

The magnificent development in the north, in all sectors of life would be harnessed for the same in the south. The technical know-how in the north would augur bright future for the people in the south.

This point also calls for the convocation of a Great National Congress composed of the representatives of people of all strata and political parties and social organizations in the north and the south. The convening of such a conference would in itself be scrapping of the mistrusts which have kept the

brothers apart, notwithstanding the throbbing of their hearts in unison.

The physical contact of the people drawn from all sections, in an atmosphere where cordiality and friendliness could reign supreme, would draw them closer to the objective, for the realization of which they would assemble. The hopes for the reunification would turn into reality.

The fourth proposal in President Kim Il Sung's wonderful five-point programme suggests the instituting of north-south Confederation under the name of a single country. The brilliant and wise leader President Kim Il Sung, by his far-sightedness, has given yet one more chance to the Pak Jung Hi puppets in south Korea to save themselves from the wrath of the nation. He has not suggested outright Federation but a Confederation as an interim step. The suggestion of a Confederation in the beginning towards an ultimate reunification speaks volumes for the wisdom of the great Korean people's leader.

To unite the north and the south, all of a sudden and at once into a Confederation after a long separation, may create some obstacles. Some of the new things that may have cropped up would have to be dispensed with. The lackeys of imperialists in the south should not have difference of opinion on this matter. At the instigation of others, they have been unable to work in accordance with the interests of their own people, now is the chance for them to wash off the blot on their names.

President Kim Il Sung has rightly suggested that the country should be given one name after the state of Confederation comes into effect. Why should there be two names when it is one country. When the people would become closer through Confederation, the desire for more closer ties would naturally follow.

The fifth proposal in the respected and beloved

leader President Kim Il Sung's five-point programme seeks the prevention of Korea being split permanently into two parts as a result of the freezing of current national division. In this regard the great revolutionary genius of the Korean people suggests that north and south work together in the field of external activity and enter the UN under the one name of the country being called the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

This point would be very effective in blunting the propaganda which the imperialists and their puppets conduct abroad against reunification. It would certainly make away with the artificial barriers that the imperialists have built up against reunification. The joint activity abroad will demonstrate to the world the striking same qualities in everything between north and south.

The five-point programme advanced by President Kim Il Sung manifests the positive and sincere efforts of the DPRK Government for the salvation of the Korean people. It in fact aims at frustrating the evil designs of imperialists and their stooges in south Korea for two Koreas. It advocates the firm preservation of ties of a single nation which fell victim to a conspiracy by being divided into two parts.

The Korean people in their desire for the realization of their most cherished goal of reunification are watching with keen interest and hope the work of North-South Co-ordination Commission which owes its existence to help bring about an early reunification. It has been entrusted with the task to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification, in accordance with the North-South Joint Statement based on the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, which were laid down by President Kim Il Sung.

The reduction of troops to 100,000 men or less each

is certainly a concrete suggestion for the easing of tension.

When there would be concrete assurance of the absence of fighting potentialities of each other, there would be absolutely no reason not to repose confidence in each other's desire for peace. The bogus and completely false threat of invasion from the north which the south Korean regime to their shame never get tired of raising would automatically vanish with the gradual reduction of the armed forces and the armaments.

The DPRK Government has all along called for prompt attention to the peaceful reunification of the country. The taste of the pudding is in eating it. When the leaders of the DPRK Government every now and then have been putting forward the proposals which would guarantee peaceful reunification in the opinion of all the people, the world over, why have the leaders of south Korea been persisting upon the negative policy?

The reason is not far to seek. The rulers in south Korea, in fact, have no voice of their own. They are there in the service of others. They have completely submitted themselves to the dictates of the wishes of the others. Their masters are none other than those who stand accused the world over of having committed aggression against the Korean people. It was the united might of the Korean people, which frustrated their attempts.

The DPRK Government has proved by action and not just by words that it stands for united single Korea and nothing else.

The entire Korean people demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea. The US troops based in south Korea enlisted as UN forces have absolutely no right whatsoever to be there. Their presence on the soil of Korea, for the glory of which

the Korean people have shed their blood for generations, is simply intolerable.

These forces have in fact been responsible for the division of Korea. The foreign troops have provided the south Korean rulers with the sustenance to hold on to their nefarious designs. The imperialists occupied south Korea by force of arms right after the Second World War.

Thereafter, the occupying forces set up a barrier to divide Korea into north and south. The people of the two parts were further insulted when the communications were suspended and their physical contact was forbidden. The imperialists are seeking to make this a permanent feature and it is this which the Korean people are determined to defeat. They would prevent it from gaining permanent status even at the cost of their lives. Come what may the Korean people are fully prepared to take up the challenge and fight it back till their homeland is liberated of the foreign imperialist forces.

No independent and sovereign state has ever given liberty to foreign forces to be stationed on its soil. The exceptions have been those which have entered into military pacts. But the foreign troops based in south Korea have been given the label of UN forces. This is all the more a mystery and highly objectionable since south Korea is not even a member of the United Nations. Why have the UN forces been dispatched to a place which has nothing to do with it?

Moreover, the UN forces never take up a permanent residence in any place. But in south Korea the US imperialist forces under the garb of UN forces have sinister motives. The imperialists brought the Korean issue illegally to the UN in 1947 in clear violation of its Charter. In 1950 the DPRK was compelled to fight back the aggressive war let loose against it by the imperialists. The war has ended since long but the so-

called "UN forces" have firmly entrenched themselves in south Korea.

The matter did not end here. The US imperialists in order to cover up their aggression against the Korean people instituted "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" (UNCURK). The Korean people always opposed this Commission.

The 28th Session of UN General Assembly this year has called for the dissolution of "UNCURK". This is one more great victory for the Korean people. Thus the consistent opposition to "UNCURK" by the Korean people has been endorsed by the UN General Assembly.

No matter how hard the puppets may try to preserve the division of Korea, their attempts are bound to end in frustration. There have been huge demonstrations in Japan in support for the reunification of Korea. There have been huge demonstrations even in front of the UN Headquarters in New York demanding the reunification of Korea. These demonstrations were held by the Koreans who are residing abroad. The American public also joined the demonstrators in a rally which was held in front of the UN Headquarters.

With the passage of each day the support to the Korean people for reunification is gaining momentum the world over, and there will be reunification sooner or later. The 28th Session of UN General Assembly also voted for the encouragement of dialogue between north and south and multi-form collaboration and interchange between the two parts in accordance with the July 4, 1972 North-South Joint Statement.

All this confessed the correctness of the line and stand of the DPRK Government for the early realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

THE PRESENT STAGE IN THE KOREAN ECONOMY AND THE POLICY OF NORTH-SOUTH REUNIFICATION

Nakagawa Nobuo
Japanese Critic

THE PRESENT STAGE IN THE KOREAN ECONOMY

On September 9, 1973, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea greeted the 25th anniversary of its founding.

With an atmosphere of celebration pervading the whole land of the Republic on the occasion, the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea was held from September 4 to 17 (there was an adjournment from the 8th to the 10th over the celebration). The plenary meeting summed up the results attained in the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions over the 25 years subsequent to the founding of the Republic. It pointed out that tremendous successes were scored on the basis of the Juche idea, which was created by President Kim Il Sung and consistently upheld by the Workers' Party of Korea, and of the line of independence in politics, self-reliance in the economy and self-defence in guarding the nation, the line which embodied the Juche idea, and that they fully proved the correctness of the lines and policies which had

been followed by the Workers' Party since the founding of the Republic.

In the review made at the plenary meeting, what merits special attention with regard to the economy and culture is the press report which goes: "The plenary meeting pointed to the need to intensify ideological education and revolutionary organizational life among the Party members and working people and thus continue to energetically push ahead with the work of revolutionizing and working-classizing them, so that all the working people can be induced to display a high degree of collectivist spirit in their work and life and establish the tone of loving labour, working honestly and diligently to consolidate and develop the socialist system as they become better off and are relieved of cares and worries."

Noteworthy in this connection is what President Kim Il Sung said at his September 19, 1973, interview with Midorikawa Toru, Executive Director of the Iwanami Publishing House. He said as follows:

"Now we can say that we have succeeded in building a completely independent national economy. Our economy is not only able to stand firmly on its own feet but also has foundations to develop more rapidly in the future. Today our nation's economy is powerful enough to advance independently and confidently, unaffected by any worldwide economic fluctuations. This has been proved by reality.

"At present we are discussing how to develop our economy more quickly. If there is any hardship in our economic development it may arise in the course of our rapid advancement. There is neither economic stagnation nor depression any more. It is a thing of the past now.

"...

"Now our Party is appealing to the entire membership and the working people not to be complacent with the existing successes but to wage an uninter-

rupted struggle to consolidate them and make a fresh advance.

"In order to consolidate the nation's economic foundation and capture the material fortress to satisfy the people's vital demands more fully, all the working people must continue to work hard, without getting intoxicated with the successes or indolent. If we do not strengthen the ideological education of the working people, they may get conceited and lax as they become better off. Therefore, we must guard against any tendency to indolence and selfishness which may be expressed among the working people as they become well-off and must induce all of them to work and live with the collectivist spirit under the slogan: 'One for all and all for one.' So the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee laid great emphasis on the necessity of ideological struggle against the tendencies to self-conceit and slackness which may breed as cares and worries are removed from our lives, and called upon the whole Party to prevent such tendencies."

From these facts, the following points can be clearly seen: the Republic's economy has succeeded in establishing a completely independent national economic system and is now powerful enough to make uninterrupted advance confidently, unaffected by any worldwide economic fluctuations; if there is any factor hindering the development of the Republic's economy, it is only such a sort that might arise in the course of increasing the tempo of development; and an important question at the present stage is to strengthen the ideological struggle against the tendencies to and factors of self-conceit and indolence which might be manifested as they become well-off.

After the Arab petroleum producers' organization took a step to curtail the petroleum production early in November 1973 an unexpected petroleum panic was created in the capitalist world. In Japan, for example,

which is largely dependent on overseas countries for petroleum and other major resources, the policy of intensive economic growth, which had been followed by the successive conservative governments and which had provided a foothold to the conservative ruling system, faced total failure, producing an unprecedented state of socio-political unrest to make the common run of people feel uneasy and precarious about their lives. As contrasted with such phenomena, everybody will clearly understand the great significance of the stage reached by the economy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Referring to the prospect of the Six-Year Plan at his interview with Mr. Midorikawa Toru, President Kim Il Sung said: **"I think most of the indices envisaged under the Six-Year Plan will be attained by 1975. However, we will have to strive continuously to develop our technology."** It is clear from this that almost all the indices envisaged under the Six-Year Plan will be achieved in 1975, that is, one year ahead of the set time, though a certain degree of unbalance is observed in fulfilling the tasks assigned to different branches as seen in the fact that the major heights of light industry under the Six-Year Plan will be scaled in 1974 whereas some indices of heavy industry are to be attained in the first half of 1976.

The Six-Year Plan envisages that industrial production will grow at an annual rate of 14 per cent. This shows a higher rate of growth as compared with 12.8 per cent achieved during the Seven-Year Plan which was extended for three years. If the plan is fulfilled one year ahead of schedule, the rate of annual growth of industry under the Six-Year Plan will of course exceed 14 per cent. In the last two or three years, no announcement was made of the rate of annual growth of industrial production in the Republic. Regarding this, an article appearing in the May 1973 issue of *Nitcho Boeki* (Trade between Japan

and Korea—*Tr.*), which commented on Financial Minister's report on the 1973 fiscal year state budget, suggested that the 16.9 per cent increase of the 1972 state budgetary revenue of the Republic as compared with the previous year and the 15 per cent increase of the 1973 budgetary revenue as against the previous year might be regarded as figures almost equivalent to the yearly growth rate of industrial production in 1972 and 1973. This may be an interesting suggestion. The annual expenditure on national defence from 1967 to 1971 accounted for some 30 per cent of the annual budgetary expenditure, which led to such a state of affairs that President Kim Il Sung said, **"Frankly speaking, this enormous expenditure on defence building has, to a certain extent, slowed down the rise in the living standards of the people."** (He said this at the interview given to Vice-Editor-in-Chief H. E. Salisbury and another of *The New York Times* on May 26, 1972.) In 1972, however, it was cut down by a big margin—to 17 per cent of the annual expenditure, and in 1973 it again dwindled to 15 per cent. Mention must be made also of the fact that this constituted a factor contributing to an ever more vigorous increase in the rate of economic growth.

PROGRESS OF NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

In studying the problem of economic construction in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea we must pay attention to the fact that it does not confine itself to the task of satisfying various demands in the northern half of the Republic but is always concerned about even the task of furnishing supplies to the south Korean people.

To take an instance, the Eighth Session of the Se-

cond Supreme People's Assembly of the Republic, held in November 1960, made concrete proposals to the south Korean side for the realization of economic and cultural exchange and cooperation between the north and the south and for the promotion of the independent development of the national economy in south Korea. It suggested overall measures for the rehabilitation and development of agriculture, fishery, national industry and national culture and for extensive housing construction and the improvement of the living standards and, at the same time, expressed the DPRK Government's readiness to meet the immense financial and economic expenditures for them. This was an embodiment of the new proposal for establishing the north-south Confederation and realizing economic and cultural exchange, advanced by President Kim Il Sung at a meeting held in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the August 15 liberation in August that year.

Also, the Third Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly convened in March 1964 proposed to hold a joint meeting of north and south Korean political parties and social organizations and realize national unity and cooperation through contacts and exchange of views between representatives of different strata in north and south Korea. At the same time, with a view to rebuilding the ruined south Korean economy and solving the problem of people's living, it proposed to offer to south Korea every year 2,000,000 *sok* of rice (One *sok* approximates 150 kg.—*Tr.*), 100,000 tons of structural steel, 1,000,000,000 kwh of electricity, 10,000 tons of chemical fibre, and cement, timber and machinery, and to take over jobless south Koreans to the northern half and ensure employment and stable lives for them.

These facts, it may be said, prove that economic construction in the Republic is, in a sense, going on with all-Korea significance for the purpose of carry-

ing out the basic revolutionary task: "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea strives to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half, drive out foreign forces on a national scale, reunify the country peacefully on a democratic basis and attain complete national independence." (Article 5 of the Socialist Constitution adopted on December 27, 1972.)

What attracts our attention with regard to the question of Korea's reunification is the progress of the dialogue between the north and the south which started with the Joint Statement of July 4, 1972, as a momentum.

The July 4 Joint Statement, as is widely known, clearly pointed out the fact that agreement was reached on the three principles of national reunification— (1) independence, (2) peaceful reunification and (3) great national unity— on the initiative of President Kim Il Sung, who said: **"We always maintain that our homeland should be reunified independently and peacefully without foreign interference. Furthermore, we hold that the unity of the entire nation should be achieved under conditions in which both sides trust and respect each other, despite the different social systems in the north and the south."** (A statement made at the aforesaid interview with Vice-Editor-in-Chief Salisbury and his party.) With this joint statement as an occasion a notable progress was made in the north-south dialogue in 1972: the full-dress north-south Red Cross talks proceeded to its fourth session (November 22, 1972) and, moreover, the North-South Co-ordination Commission was set up, and even its first session held (November 30, 1972).

However, an attempt to trample on the principles contained in the North-South Joint Statement was more and more brought into the open by the Pak Jung Hi regime. In its answers to the south Korean

National Assembly session held from July 5 to 13, 1972, and on other occasions the Pak regime made its attitude clear. It emphatically said: (1) the North-South Joint Statement marks a big turn towards national reunification but it is, to all intents and purposes, no more than a beginning in the turn, and the matter depends largely on the future; (2) neither is it a treaty nor it has the force and effect of a treaty and it is no more than a rudimentary agreement because north Korea cannot be regarded as a state or a government; (3) the outside forces referred to in the Joint Statement do not include the United Nations, the UN Forces, the "UNCURK", etc.; and (4) although the north-south relation has been turned from the "confrontation without dialogue to confrontation with dialogue" by virtue of the Joint Statement, there is no change in terms of "confrontation", and accordingly, it is absolutely necessary to be "backed up by force" either by the proclamation of the state of emergency or by dint of "all-out security". Clarifying its attitude, it even said: "As far as we are concerned, we hope the US army will remain as long as possible to check an armed provocation by the north."

This is tantamount to deliberately belittling the significance of the North-South Joint Statement and distorting the principle of independent reunification which constitutes the keystone in the three principles. It is aimed at proving that the new stage in the north-south relations is nothing but a change of course from the "confrontation without dialogue to the confrontation with dialogue".

The move made by the Pak regime towards the stiffer stand of opposing independency in violation of the agreement specified in the North-South Joint Statement found expression also in its attempt to introduce more Japanese capital from 1972. With 1972 as a turning point, the Pak regime took the

course of introducing more of Japanese capital. Entering 1973, it set forth the so-called 1973-1981 plan for heavy and chemical industries (which holds a place of key importance in the "long-term development plan" which envisages the total investment of 40,000 million dollars), revealing its intention to open south Korea in a wholesale way to the capital of Japanese heavy and chemical industries.

On the other hand, the Pak regime began to strengthen its anti-democratic attitude. The North-South Joint Statement, which was made public under agreement made with the Pak regime as one of the concerned parties, demanded abolition or thorough revision of the anti-democratic laws such as "Anti-Communist Law" and "National Security Law" and of the oppressive machinery represented by the Central Intelligence Agency and its system, with which it has completely suppressed up to this date the south Korean people's movement for reunification and their freedom of argument. It is because there can be no progress towards north-south reunification if there remain such a state of affairs in which the south Korean people's movement for reunification and their freedom of argument are totally suppressed. But, with the proclamation of the "emergency martial law" on October 17, 1972, as the beginning, the Pak regime raised the "October revitalization" commotion in an attempt to establish a system of permanent seizure of power by Pak Jung Hi and concentrate the three powers of administration, legislation and judiciary on him, effect the utmost strengthening of the ruling system by military fascist dictatorship on the one hand and, on the other, to bring the suppression of the political activities of non-government parties and people and their democratic freedoms nearly to the extreme point.

While alleging that the north-south dialogue, which was opened after the publication of the North-

South Joint Statement, is no more than a change from "confrontation without dialogue to confrontation with dialogue" and making a gesture of holding talks with the Republic on details of the reunification question, the Pak Jung Hi regime increased factors affecting the reunification, strengthening its attitude of opposing independency and democracy. An important outcome of such double-faced tactics employed by the Pak regime was the definition on June 23, 1973, of the "two Koreas" line as a policy.

The developments subsequent to the July 4 Joint Statement show that the greatest aim of the Pak Jung Hi regime, which shifted from the obstinate policy of rejecting north-south contact to the policy of north-south dialogue, is to save the system of its own military fascist dictatorship from the ever-worsening crisis it undergoes in the mire of irregularity and corruption. They also show that the Pak Jung Hi regime is backed and manipulated by the US and Japanese ruling circles who are trying to maintain and secure the south Korean ruling system, with Pak Jung Hi and his ilk as their servants on the spot, by fixing the division of Korea.

The incident in which Kim Dae Jung, a democratic political figure of south Korea who had been fighting for democracy and peaceful national reunification, was abducted by CIA men from Tokyo to Seoul, should have been viewed in the same light.

That resulted in a stagnation in the north-south dialogue from 1973.

A PERMANENT DIVISION OR REUNIFICATION?

"Originally, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea started dialogue with the

present south Korean authorities because they pledged to endeavour to solve the reunification question in an independent way without relying on the outside forces, as clarified in the North-South Joint Statement."

Thus the DPRK's memorandum issued on September 26, 1973, in connection with the placing of the Korean question on the agenda of the 28th UN General Assembly session explains the chief reason that the Republic side responded to the dialogue with the Pak regime.

The North-South Joint Statement and the subsequent north-south dialogue were the outcome of President Kim Il Sung's speech made on August 6, 1971. In that speech he put forth a new policy for conducting a widespread contact and negotiation between various political forces of the north and the south including the Democratic Republican Party of south Korea, and stressed the need to attain a nationwide unity under the banner of independent reunification by thoroughly rejecting the foreign forces, the greatest source that hinders the country's reunification. At the north-south political-level contacts conducted in the period from the latter half of 1971 to the first half of 1972, the south Korean side expressed its enthusiasm for independent reunification, while the Republic side showed an attitude of appraising it, with the result that the north-south dialogue was started. However, the anti-national, anti-popular nature of the Pak Jung Hi regime has been fully laid bare due to its dual tactics of intensifying its manoeuvres to perpetuate the division under the signboard of "peaceful reunification", on the one hand, and openly crying for "confrontation with dialogue", "competition accompanied by dialogue" and "coexistence with dialogue", on the other.

The Republic side, therefore, began to strongly criticize the Pak Jung Hi regime which, in violation

of the North-South Joint Statement, is creating a great obstacle in the way of the north-south dialogue and reunification by strengthening its anti-independent, anti-democratic attitude. Criticism was made first by "How Has the Situation Stood in South Korea for a Month Since the Publication of the North-South Joint Statement?" the editorial article of the August 4, 1972 issue of *Rodong Sinmun*, organ of the Workers' Party of Korea. On June 23, 1973, when the Pak regime made public its "two Koreas" policy, President Kim Il Sung put forward the DPRK Government's five-point policy for national reunification to get over the prevailing difficult situation and materialize the national aspiration for the peaceful reunification of the country at an early date. (Speech delivered at the Pyongyang mass rally to welcome the Party and Government Delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.) With this, it may be said, the DPRK side warned solemnly against the Pak regime's dual tactics and, at the same time, demanded that it express its final attitude with regard to the question of national reunification. The main contents of the policy are:

1. To improve the present relations between the north and south of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary, first of all, to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south.

2. To improve the north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification, it is necessary to materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields.

3. In order to settle the question of the country's reunification in conformity with the will and demand of the Korean people, it is necessary to enable the masses of people of all strata in the north and the

south to participate in the nationwide patriotic work for national reunification. To this end, a Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life and of political parties and social organizations in the north and the south should be convened.

4. What is of great significance today in speeding up the country's reunification is to institute a north-south Confederation under the name of a single country. A Great National Congress should be convened and national unity achieved, and on this basis, the north-south Confederation instituted, leaving the two existing systems in the north and the south as they are for the time being. This confederal state will be named the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

5. The country should be prevented from being split into two Koreas permanently as a result of the freezing of national division and the north and the south should also work together in the field of external activity. The north and the south should not enter the United Nations separately. If they want to enter it before the reunification of the country, they should enter it as a single state under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, at least after the Confederation is set up.

The five-point policy is a systematic shape of the proposals made so far by the Republic side in the course of the dialogue between the north and the south for expediting reunification and, furthermore, it contains measures to cope with the new situation created with the proclamation of the "two Koreas" policy by the Pak regime. It is the newest and programmatic proposal of the Republic side for solving the question of national reunification.

Such warnings and proposals of the Republic side, however, were completely ignored by the Pak Jung Hi regime. It began to lift up its voice demand-

ing the continued stationing of the US troops while scheming to realize the entry of "two Koreas" at the 28th UN General Assembly session under the wire-pulling of the US and Japanese ruling circles from behind. It also started stepping up the introduction of Japanese capital into the south Korean economy, notably heavy and chemical industries. Along with this, it even made no scruple to give rise to the incident of Kim Dae Jung's abduction.

Under those circumstances, the DPRK side could not but make clear its attitude adapted for it.

In his speech at the Pyongyang mass rally to welcome the Bulgarian Party and Government Delegation on October 28, 1973, President Kim Il Sung said: "...the policy of US imperialism and its stooges to split our nation has now driven our people into a grave situation which confronts them with the alternative—the reunification of the nation or its division for ever." He continued: "Out of our sincere desire to satisfy the long-cherished aspiration of the entire nation for peaceful national reunification, we advanced a new, five-point programme of national reunification on June 23 last. However, the south Korean authorities turned it down and, at last, together with the US and Japanese reactionaries, brought up before the United Nations a proposal for simultaneous entry into the UN by 'two Koreas'.

"The proposal to enter the UN as 'two Koreas' runs diametrically counter to the July 4 North-South Joint Statement in which they agreed to achieve reunification independently without reliance upon outside forces, in a peaceful way and on the principle of great national unity; it is aimed to divide Korea into two Koreas completely.

"It is simply unthinkable that our nation, which has lived as a single nation in one and the same peninsula through a long history, should be divided into two in our time.

“Today who, if ever a Korean, will hope to see his country divided?”

“If there is any force demanding division among the Koreans, it is none other than the handful of south Korean comprador capitalists who are servants of foreign monopoly capital, and political stooges of US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

“To seek the division of the country is a deadly crime of treachery which can never be pardoned through all eternity; it is a traitorous conduct which leads our nation again to ruin.

“The traitorous force of south Korea is trying to gratify its lust for power and enjoy personal wealth and honour in return for dividing the country and the nation and selling them off to the foreign aggressors.

“The foreign forces of aggression seeking the division of Korea are trying to use such traitors and hirelings to take hold of south Korea.

“This is a plot to reduce south Korea to a colony and military base of US imperialism for ever and to a commodity market for Japanese militarism.”

What is worthy of special attention in this speech is that it pointed out that the act of the Pak Jung Hi regime, which turned down the five-point policy advanced on June 23 and, at last, together with the US and Japanese ruling circles, went so far as to bring up before the United Nations a proposal for simultaneous entry into the UN by “two Koreas”, “runs diametrically counter to the North-South Joint Statement”, is aimed to “divide Korea into two Koreas completely” and is a “deadly crime of treachery which can never be pardoned through all eternity and a traitorous conduct which leads our nation again to ruin”, and that the Korean people are today “in a grave situation which confronts them with the alternative—the reunification of the nation or its division

for ever". This, it may be said, is a stern warning that the two divided Koreas' simultaneous entry into the United Nations will entail danger of permanent national division. At the same time, it is an expression of his view that the Pak Jung Hiites have fully laid bare their true colours as the advocates of national partition. In the meantime, Kim Yong Ju, Co-Chairman of the DPRK side to the North-South Co-ordination Commission, issued a statement on August 28, immediately after the occurrence of the Kim Dae Jung abduction incident, in which he denounced that this case "is a big-scale political plot to strangulate the patriotic forces of south Korea demanding the democratization of society and national reunification and is part of the treacherous moves to perpetuate the split of the nation." He also declared that he could not recognize Li Hu Rak, Director of the south Korean Central Intelligence Agency, who was at the bottom of the Kim Dae Jung abduction case, as the person who takes charge of the dialogue between the north and the south in the capacity of the Co-Chairman of the south Korean side to the North-South Co-ordination Commission.

THE PAK REGIME IN A DEEPENING CRISIS

By a glance, all the above-mentioned facts might give an impression that since the publication of the July 4 Joint Statement things have been going on to the tune played by the Pak Jung Hi regime and the US and Japanese ruling circles behind it. But it proves to be a wrong impression.

The Pak Jung Hi regime, which until then had not showed any concern about the question of Korea's reunification, but had regarded the overall suppres-

sion of the south Korean people's movements and aspirations for independent, peaceful reunification as the foremost task, had to sign the July 4 Joint Statement and start the north-south dialogue actuated by it, because its home and foreign policies had been driven into a tight corner as a consequence of the bankruptcy of the "industrialization" policy it had tried in the 1960's in pursuance of its anti-reunification line and it had realized that it could not get rid of the predicament without taking a sensible attitude towards the question of reunification.

However, this did not help the Pak Jung Hi regime get over its contradictions and difficulties, but rather precipitated them.

When they started the north-south dialogue the Pak Jung Hi clique actually had had a way out of the adversity. That was to give up their traitorous, anti-popular policies and lines and choose the road to remaining faithful to the line of the July 4 Joint Statement in which they agreed to strive for the independent peaceful reunification of the country. But they did not take that road. They, under the condition of the country's division, had resorted to all sorts of irregularity and corruption, gratified their lust for power and tried to gain their own ease. And they failed to come out in the direction of putting an end to such a corrupt life and began to follow out a new scheme for fixing the country's division—the fixation of their ruling system. The new machination brought them nothing but a blow.

The progress of the north-south dialogue exposed to the whole world the ugly sight of the Pak Jung Hi clique, who had been resorting to the double-faced tactics, as the anti-reunification and separatist forces.

For instance, they signed the North-South Joint Statement which contains the principles of independent reunification on the one hand and, on the other, they clamoured that the United Nations, the "UN Com-

mission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and even the US troops stationed in south Korea were not the foreign forces. But the United Nations is an "international organization" and it is not an "internal organization" for south Korea. So it unquestionably is a foreign force in the settlement of the Korean question. The Pak Jung Hi clique assert that the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and the US armed forces in south Korea are not the foreign forces. This rather arouses a doubt as to what the advocate's nationality is.

On the contrary, the justness of the Republic's assertions and attitude with regard to the reunification question has been known to the whole world in the course of the north-south dialogue. This has caused greater international support to the Republic's assertion and resulted in the rapid enhancement of its international position. The resolution on the Korean question at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States held early in September 1973 in Algiers clearly shows it. The conference unanimously resolved: (1) to demand the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in south Korea and the termination of all sorts of foreign interference in Korea's domestic affairs; (2) to demand the deliberation of the Korean question at the 28th UN General Assembly session in favor of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, and the adoption of decision on the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the UN flag and on the dissolution of the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"; (3) to declare that Korea's admission to the United Nations should be materialized under a single name of the country after the realization of the complete reunification of Korea or the establishment of a north-south confederation. This shows that the Republic's major propositions were fully reflected in it.

As a result, at the 28th session of the UN General Assembly the machinations of the Pak regime and the US and Japanese governments to defer the discussion of the Korean question as in the previous year were completely foiled. That is why they began to scheme to convert the UN General Assembly into a place for keeping Korea's division and perpetuating it by means of the "two Koreas" policy which found expression in their move for simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the UN.

In the autumn of 1973, the 28th UN General Assembly session was confronted with the tasks of repudiating the scheme for simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations, disorganizing the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", dispossessing the US troops stationed in south Korea of the flag of the "UN Forces" and taking measures to make them withdraw, in accordance with the unanimous desire of the Korean people and the world public opinion and the demands of the times. Due to the desperate manoeuvres of the US and Japanese governments and the Pak regime, and for other reasons, the General Assembly was unable to take steps for the withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea. But, at the session the correctness of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity was confirmed, and at the same time, a resolution was adopted on the dissolution of the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and the scheme of the US and Japanese ruling circles and the Pak regime for the simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations was frustrated. This meant a shining victory for the Republic which had waged a principled struggle against "two Koreas" manoeuvres, holding fast to the stand of advocating the three principles clarified in the North-South Joint Statement and, at the same time, a miserable defeat

for the Pak regime and the US and Japanese ruling circles behind it who, in gross violation of the principles of the North-South Joint Statement, had proclaimed a "two Koreas" policy and frenziedly stepped up a new divisive manoeuvre.

The 28th UN General Assembly session expressed its desire to the effect that the question of Korea's reunification should be settled independently by the Korean people themselves. This could not but bring into bolder relief the abnormal stand of the Pak Jung Hi regime which was being condemned by the Republic side as the nation-splitters and meeting with powerful opposition and resistance of the Korean people as its anti-democratic and anti-independent nature was fully laid bare. The south Korean people's reaction to the Pak regime's traitorous and anti-popular nature which had been all the more revealed in the course of the north-south dialogue was manifested in the tendency to criticism and denunciation against the military fascist dictatorial system and the policy of subordinating the economy to Japan, which had been rapidly growing ever since the beginning of October, 1973, among the students, intellectuals, religious people, men of the press and the non-government parties.

The Pak Jung Hi regime is now facing the most serious crisis after it seized power by means of military coup d'etat in 1961.

These facts fully reveal that the Pak Jung Hi regime which monopolizes the role of the representative of the south Korean side in the north-south dialogue is not qualified to fill it. At the same time, they show that it is a pressing question to build up an independent, democratic political and social force suited for the representative of the south Korean side.

In his above-mentioned speech made on October 28, 1973, President Kim Il Sung pointed out:

"These days the patriotic students, youth and peo-

ple in south Korea have risen afresh in the struggle against the present military fascist regime and for the democratization of society and the independent reunification of the country." Then he stressed:

"Our Party and the Government of the Republic will always render active support and encouragement to the just struggle of the south Korean people, and will adhere to the stand of sharing with them all the responsibility for their struggle since it is directly related to the vital interests of the whole nation."

These quotations seem to contain the essence of the national reunification policy of the Republic at the present stage.

REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

J. E. Vidal

Journalist of the French
Paper *L'Humanite*

1. A TREE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE RAILWAY

There is a tree in the middle of the railway. It is not a bush but a big adult tree. Nor is it a tree lying uprooted in a tempest, but a fairly vertical trunk which has struck its roots deep down between the rails and sleepers and which stretches its branches towards the sky.

This railway is the very Pyongyang-Seoul line. It is like the Paris-Bordeaux or Paris-Marseilles line.

Imagine a tree growing in the middle of the track, somewhere between Tours and Poitiers, for a quarter of a century. Then no train would run on this rusty track, contacts between Paris and Bordeaux and between Toulouse and Marseilles be cut for nearly a quarter of a century. Automobiles would no more pass the abandoned route.

Your father and brother who are only ten kilometres away from the tree would be completely cut from you, and you would feel that they are in a place farther than Santiago of Chile.

Thus, the tree has grown in the middle of the track on the 38th parallel. It grows on this cut on the living body of Korea and the wound does not heal.

The Korean nation was divided into two like the Vietnamese nation. Like the Vietnamese people, the Korean people have never done harm to anyone, never forced war on anyone. If any, it was the war they waged on their own land to defend the country against the Japanese colonialists who plundered them for about forty years and then against the Americans who made every effort for three years to strangle them.

Korea was mutilated and ripped soon after it rid itself of Japanese colonization, because the chieftains of US imperialism decided to subjugate at their discretion the southern half of the country following World War II.

This mutilation was imposed upon by force of arms, without a shadow of justification. It is maintained, against the will of the Korean people, by the same means.

There have been no foreign forces in the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since 1958. In contrast, the southern half has been turned into a US military base with nuclear weapons, missile-carriers and more than 180 installations including aerodromes and vast parks, and into a colony where the US and Japanese capitalists—and also, though less in scale, West German and French capitalists—control the main sectors of the economy and rake up enormous profits. Labour there is known as the cheapest in the world despite its high efficiency.

Moreover, with a view to preserving this strategic ground with an inexhaustible wealth of mines, 40,000 US troops continue to occupy the south and, with the aid of innumerable secret agents, are on the alert lest the Pak Jung Hi dictatorship should be overthrown.

South Korea shares with south Viet Nam the sad privilege of being the most militarized region in the world. It has a 700,000 strong army, 50,000 policemen, 320,000 paid informers, hundreds of thousands

of agents attached to a secret service which is an exact copy of the US Central Intelligence Agency, 60,000 mercenaries which, as cannon fodder for the US, took part in the massacres of south Vietnamese civilians.

Korea is called the land of morning calm. When the sun rises over Pyongyang, across the Taedong-gang River looking like the Loire, the sky is clear and serene and the breeze dies away.

Nevertheless, a tragedy underlies everyday life everywhere. The occupation of the southern half of the country by the imperialists is an insupportable, permanent aggression, which continues from day to day and might trigger off another war at any moment.

In the future, in the perspective of the relative disengagement, the US intends to assign to Japan an ever more active role and... invasion of south Korea. The contradictions between the US and Japanese monopolies do not hinder the convergence of their Asian policy. Therefore, the division of Korea might be perpetuated.

But all the Korean people do not want it. Those in the north have not ceased to say that. The south Korean people have been obliged to keep silence. To speak of the reunification of the country—this would risk harsh torments and even one's life. At the time of the presidential election campaign in April 1971, the legal opposition, the New Democratic Party, won over more considerable masses in Seoul and other towns in the south than those dragged out by the troops and policemen to vote for the dictator Pak Jung Hi.

National Community Menaced

Like the north Korean people, the south Korean people refuse status quo founded on the division of the country.

They are aware that the Korean nation is menaced. They are facing an impending danger at this moment of history as President Kim Il Sung stressed in his reply of January 1965 to Mr. Kim Ryong Jung, the President of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"Although a new generation has grown up, there has not even been established contact and travel between north and south Korea, to say nothing of the reunification of the country, the long-cherished aspiration of the nation, and the artificial barrier of national partition remains unchanged.

"As the days go by, the gap between the north and the south is growing wider in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life, and even the national characteristics common to our people, a homogeneous nation formed through a long history, are gradually becoming differentiated.

"The division of the nation rules out the possibility of co-ordinated mobilization and use of the national wealth and the strength of the people for the development of the country; it brings unbearable sufferings to all Korean people.

"...

"Reunification of the country is an urgent national task which cannot be postponed any longer.

"It is high time, we believe, for all Koreans without exception, who are patriotic and concerned about the future of the nation, to do their utmost to reunify the country.

“...
“The US imperialists have brought south Korea completely under their colonial domination in all political, economic, military and cultural fields and brought utter ruin to the life of its people.

“Withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea is the prerequisite to the solution of the question of reunification.”

In the face of the decline and degradation of the national unity solely due to foreign intervention, the Korean people are alive to the necessity for uninterrupted action. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made time and again realistic and original propositions to attenuate the division of the country and then do away with it.

These propositions, which we will review below, have been rejected or ignored by Seoul, but they have gripped the hearts of the people despite arrest, torture, death sentence. A large proportion of the south Korean intelligentsia favorably appreciate the efforts of Pyongyang.

The Revolutionary Party for Reunification has struck its roots in the south and is extending its influence and clandestine activity.

When will the Korean people put an end to the division of the country? When will the tree which has grown between the rails on the Pyongyang-Seoul line be hewn down at last by an ax?

Something, however, has stirred at noon, August 20, 1971, when the Koreans in the north and in the south met at Panmunjom for the first time after 25 years, around the table in the middle of which the 38th parallel passes exactly.

The agreement on matters of principle published simultaneously in Pyongyang and in Seoul on July 4, 1972, after a series of secret talks, and the official meetings of two Red Cross representatives which took

place alternatively in these cities, are the major events in the history of the country.

The dictator of Seoul drew back before the pressure of the people and the intervention of diverse international political factors, to which we will return. However, the saying "It's the first step that counts" is hardly applicable here.

Pak Jung Hi temporized for a year before accepting the official meeting. He proceeded to the executions of patriots even after the July 4 agreement. Then he tried to put off the discussion of the fundamental question: the reunification.

In the months following the proclamation of the martial law on October 17, 1972, Pak Jung Hi made recourse to force to impose a new constitution which would allow him to presidency for life and give him uncontrolled power.

Notable in this wicked operation designed to put down the opposition temporarily is the fact that the new constitution makes the reunification of the country the supreme objective of south Korea. The taboo was lifted and contacts with the north legalized.

This is an indication that an impulse was given. One may think that obstacles, however many they are, will be overcome, for it is difficult to check the forces of the people. The Korean people will remake Korea, from the Amnok-gang River in the north to Cheju-do Island in the south. Their history of thousands of years proves this.

2. MACHINATION TO DIVIDE A NATION

Before the end of World War II Korea had become one of the victims to the so-called "containment" policy of the US imperialists. Far from rejoicing over

the victory won by the Soviet Army, they were anxious above all to limit its advance on all fronts. The people liberated by the Soviet Army had a fair chance to escape from their influence and break down the capitalist structure.

Despite the fact that Japan was already beaten militarily, the United States dropped two atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, made more than 200,000 civilian victims in a few seconds and hastened the surrender of Japan.

In this militarily unjustifiable decision one can see the ambition to affirm the supremacy of the US power. At this moment, in effect, the Soviet Union was going to declare war on Japan—she did it on August 8—after having taken an essential part in the rout of nazism. In two days the picked Japanese troops were annihilated in Manchuria. The 25th Red Army and Korean guerrillas immediately entered Korea and liberated the peninsula at lightning speed.

On August 15, with the surrender of Japan, Korea rid itself of the dark period of 36-year-long Japanese colonial yoke. The whole country was jubilant over restored independence and liberty.

In November 1943 the Cairo Conference which was attended by Roosevelt, Churchill and Chang Kai-shek treated Korea in the following terms:

“The above-mentioned three Great Powers, aware of the servitude to which the Korean people was reduced, have resolved to the effect that Korea should become free and independent in due course.”

The words “in due course” evidently meant the time of Korea’s liberation from Japanese colonial yoke. Later, the United States utilized ambiguity of this term for their manoeuvres.

The engagement for establishing Korea as an independent state was reaffirmed by Truman, Stalin and Churchill in the Potsdam Declaration in July 1945.

In the meantime, the United States demanded to take part in the disarmament of the Japanese troops in Korea and, in view of the relations of forces as they were, an agreement was concluded on this point perhaps in Yalta: the Soviet Army would disarm the Japanese in the north of the 38th parallel which passes near the centre of Korea and the US forces in the south of the same line. The result showed that the US had precise ideas in mind.

In Korea, beginning with August 15, 1945, the people's committees, elements of democratic power, were set up in every district by the initiative of the people under the guidance of the Democratic National United Front which rallied the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and progressive forces of all walks of life across the country. The Soviet Army stationed in the area north of the 38th parallel assured free activities of the Korean people.

President Kim Il Sung and his comrades-in-arms, who had returned home after their 15 years long struggle against Japanese occupation, were welcomed triumphantly.

On September 8, more than three weeks after the liberation of Korea, the US army landed in south Korea. On their arrival, Americans revealed their intentions. One of the first proclamations of General MacArthur to the population of south Korea was to menace with death condemnation those who would violate the directives of the US armed forces in Korea. All at once the liberators turned out to be occupants as they were.

General Hodge, US Army Commander in Korea, announced on his part that the Japanese Governor General should maintain his functions for a certain time with a view to facilitating the administration of the country. The indignation of the people compelled the US State Department to disapprove

this decision. The adoption of such a decision showed that for the United States, the enemy whom it had to "keep under control" was no more Japan but the Korean people.

Americans did their utmost to dissolve the people's committees by force, check the democratic trends and whip together reactionary elements—landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and others—who were seriously weakened by the defeat of Japanese imperialism with which they had collaborated.

Syngman Rhee was brought back from the United States where he lived on October 16, 1945, and General Hodge formed in Seoul a Korean consultative council with the participation of reactionary personalities.

Thus began the new misfortune of the Korean people several weeks after liberation. Intervention of US imperialism threw ever greater obstacles in the way of the founding of a democratic independent state.

In the face of the opposition of the south Korean leftists who saw the people's power installed in the north, the leaders in Washington formulated then their "general policy" toward Korea. The joint committee of the three departments (the State, Defence and Navy Departments) took the following decision on October 20, 1945:

"The actual military occupation of Korea by the United States and the Soviet Union should be replaced by the trusteeship of Korea as early as possible."

The next day John Garter Vincent, Chief of the Far East Affairs of the State Department, announced:

"...Consequently we demand a trusteeship period in which Korea will prepare itself for taking charge of the independent administration of the country itself. How long it will last, neither you nor I can say. We, however, agree in that the shorter the period, the better."

The proposition of trusteeship had no other aim than to prevent the people from taking power. It was aimed at preventing, by foreign political intervention, the democratic revolution which took place in the north of the 38th parallel from spreading to the south.

It seemed at the moment that revolution could not be carried out simultaneously in the whole of the country. President Kim Il Sung proposed measures to create a solid revolutionary base in the northern part of Korea, the base which could serve foundation for the reunification of the country.

On October 10, in Pyongyang, was formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea under the guidance of President Kim Il Sung who proposed as the fundamental task to fight for the founding of a democratic people's republic by rallying the broad patriotic, democratic forces through the formation of a democratic national united front embracing all patriotic and democratic parties and groups.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"To organize, first of all, people's committees as organs of genuine people's power in various districts with a view to establishing a unified all-Korea democratic provisional government, and carry out all democratic reforms, restore the factories, enterprises and the national economy as a whole, which were ravaged by the Japanese imperialists, and raise the material and cultural standards of the people, thereby laying the groundwork of an independent democratic state."

The people's committees, organs of local self-government, were organized into a unified system, and in November 1945 there came into being ten administrative bureaus which were to take charge of the principal sectors of the economy and social life in the five provinces of the north, until a central organ would be established.

How Were the Moscow Agreements Sabotaged?

At the close of December 1945 a conference of foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union was held in Moscow. An agreement was reached on the establishment of a joint commission composed of the Soviet and US representatives in Korea; this commission would hold a consultation with political parties and social organizations with a view to submitting to four Powers (the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China) the propositions for the formation of an all-Korea government. This government was to make Korea a democratic independent state in five years. In the meantime, it would remain under the supervision of four Powers.

Korean democratic political parties and social organizations, the Communist Party in particular, expressed their support to the Moscow agreements whose fulfilment would put an end to the division of the country.

But, quite adroitly and resorting to their usual practice, the Americans distorted the Moscow decision, asserting that it referred to the formation of a simple power of trusteeship in Korea, not a government. Thus they whipped together south Korean reactionaries opposed to the reunification of the country under a democratic regime which would put an end to their privileges.

Meanwhile, in February 1946, in the north of Korea the representatives of the Communist Party and other diverse democratic political parties and social organizations convened an enlarged consultative meeting with the people's committees, established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, to the chairman of which was elected General

Kim Il Sung. This committee was to carry out important reforms longed for by the working people. On March 5, 1946, the Agrarian Reform Law was promulgated which was soon put into effect. It was followed by the promulgation of the Labour Law, the Law on Equality of the Sexes, and the Law on the Nationalization of Major Industries on August 10. The revolutionary movement was surging forward with a renewed force.

At the same time, the Americans continued to sabotage the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission which was charged with the implementation of the Moscow decision. On March 26, 1946, the Commission adjourned its work sine die. It sat again in May and was again brought to impasse in mid-June. The United States demanded that the general election to be organized throughout Korea be supervised by the United Nations in which they then had automatic majority and which they used as an instrument for their imperialist policy. It was unacceptable to the Koreans who wanted to take charge themselves of their own problems.

In the southern half of Korea the repression of the democratic forces was aggravated from month to month. The Americans endeavoured to isolate and ban the Communist Party in particular.

On August 28, 1946, in Pyongyang the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party merged in a great mass party—the Workers' Party of Korea.

About this merger, President Kim Il Sung said:
"The merger... made it possible to strengthen the Party forces and further expand the ranks of revolutionaries.... It also eliminated the danger of the working people's revolutionary forces being divided... strengthened the alliance of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals under the leadership of the working class...."

In the northern half of Korea where socialist transformation was to be undertaken, it became urgent to establish an administrative superstructure which would provide the possibility of handling affairs in accordance with the newly established relations of production. This had nothing to do with the formation of a separated government.

The Workers' Party decided to carry out the election of the people's committees at all levels by secret ballot. On February 17, 1947, the Conference of the Representatives of the Provincial, City and County People's Committees, who had been elected in a democratic way, formed the People's Assembly of North Korea. On February 21, the Assembly organized the People's Committee of North Korea headed by General Kim Il Sung.

While organizing revolutionary actions, the Committee set about the task of directing the gradual transition to socialism, expanding and consolidating democratic reforms and developing the economy in a planned way, in spite of all the difficulties caused by the division of the country.

A contrast between the progress in the north and the stagnation in the south became ever more marked. The United States lost no time. In accordance with its policy based on "containment"—and by no means on the will of the people—they worked more openly to set up a separate puppet government in Seoul. With this design, they brought up the Korean problem to the United Nations. There they made their automatic majority vote, in spite of the opposition of the Soviet Union, for a resolution (November 13, 1947) on the formation of the "UN Provisional Commission on Korea" which was to supervise election. Of course, the United States was aware that the Koreans of the north would not accept this disguised intervention in the internal affairs of the country. This was presumed in the scenario written in Wash-

ington. The United Nations then decided that the election should be held in south Korea alone, to the great satisfaction of the Right headed by Syngman Rhee.

The possibility of establishing immediately a provisional democratic government for all Korea in accordance with the decision of the Moscow Conference was excluded henceforth.

In face of this situation, the Workers' Party demanded that all the foreign forces should be simultaneously pulled out of the north and the south and that the question of reunification should be settled by the Koreans themselves without outside intervention.

In February 1948 the Workers' Party presented the draft Constitution to the entire people for discussion and demanded that the legislative election be held by universal suffrage and secret ballot in the whole of Korea.

It proposed to the political parties and mass organizations in south Korea to hold a joint conference, which was put into effect in April 1948 in Pyongyang with the participation of the representatives of 50 political parties and public organizations.

The conference decided to boycott the election being organized in the south with flagrant foreign intervention.

The separate election took place on May 10, 1948, and at the end of the month the Syngman Rhee puppet regime was rigged up.

To cope with this action infringing on all the international agreements regarding Korea, the Workers' Party again convened the conference of the political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea (at the end of June) and proposed to found the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which would represent the will of all the Korean people.

The conference adopted a resolution to this effect

and in August 1948 the legislative election gave birth to the Supreme People's Assembly consisting of 572 deputies.

The session of the SPA held in Pyongyang in September 1948 proclaimed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and adopted the Constitution.

At the close of the year the Soviet Union recognized the government established in Pyongyang and pulled out all its armed forces from the northern half of Korea. But the US troops remained in the south. They are still there in 1973.

We have retraced briefly how the United States sought to perpetuate the division of the country which should have been reunified in 1950 at the latest in accordance with the agreements which it signed itself.

It, incidentally, employed the same tactics several years after the 1954 Geneva agreements to lay hands on south Viet Nam.

The efforts of the Government of the DPRK to reunify Korea peacefully were made from 1949 and they have not been slackened ever since.

In June of the same year, 72 political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea formed the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland. It made a declaration on the peaceful reunification of the country, demanding the retreat of the US forces from south Korea and the establishment of a government through the election in the whole Korea.

The US imperialists, by the voice of Syngman Rhee, rejected these propositions and prepared for armed confrontation. Washington passed from the policy of "containment" to that of "roll-back" in those grim years when the US chieftains believed that they could lord it over in the world.

On June 7, 1950, the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland proposed to the south

Korean authorities to open negotiations for finding out the ways and means of easing the tension between the two parts of the country and of expediting peaceful reunification.

On June 19, 1950 the Supreme People's Assembly proposed to form a coalition with the National Assembly of the south and adopt a new Constitution.

Syngman Rhee rejected again these propositions and on June 25 he answered them with war.

The progress made by north Korea for five years since liberation was insupportable, as it reflected upon the US policy disastrous for the economy of the south.

Imperialism took every possible step to crush the north.

3. THE PEOPLE PLACED UNDER ARMS

The willows thick with tender foliage which line the large avenues of Pyongyang have the age of the ceasefire. The modern buildings of the capital, elegant village houses, apple and peach orchards covering all accessible slopes—none of these is anterior to 1953.

The young women of today carrying babies on their back with sensibly bound belt—the babies looking like fledgelings in their nests with their sleepy heads swinging to the rhythm of the pace of their mothers—were born in air-raid shelters.

They didn't know whether it rained or the sun shone outside; nothing was natural to them. Even forests on hillside were burned down. Only the deafening explosions of bombs and napalm bombs were heard and the sky was darkened by the debris of houses and men, by the debris of life.

These young women witnessed the unimaginable scenes of ruins and ashes. Towns were destroyed, villages leveled to the ground. Such was Korea, and then Viet Nam. There the US imperialists set in motion the machine of destruction against the people who did not do the least harm to the United States.

How can one pretend to know Korea if one forgets that there remains a terrible scar behind the entirely changed looks, behind the smiling villages and paddy fields kept like gardens, settlements and factories built anew in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and that the wound of the division of the country is still open and the imperialist menace still remains in the south?

In order to understand Korea-garden of today in the north of the 38th parallel, it is necessary to imagine the chaos of 1953....

In the museum of Sinchon, a county seat not far from the demarcation line, the voice of the young girl who guides us becomes more muffled. Her white pointer continues to indicate the documents on display. Her eyes are suffused with tears. She wipes her cheeks with the handkerchief, and goes on to say:

"In this village of Onchon they burned 1,200 inhabitants alive after spraying gasoline over them. They put young girls and young women apart—they were 381—and locked them up in a rest home...."

The pointer rests on a photo of the ruins, probably a smoke-darkened terrace.

"They violated them during occupation. Prior to their fleeing, they blew up the building where the prisoners were kept and threw the corpses into the river."

Beside it, there is a photo of a dam.

"From there they threw down 1,383 inhabitants of another village after binding them in groups of fives...."

There is a bridge farther on. Martyrs were bound together by eight and thrown into the river. More than 2,000 were killed. In yet another village they killed 871 people, or 87 per cent of the population.

Hall after hall, in the Sinchon Museum, people thrill with horror.

Two hundred metres away from there there is an air-raid shelter. Some 900 patriots were goaded into it and locked and then gasoline was poured in through a ventilation pipe. It burned for two days. The walls are dark smeared with smoke, and dried blood, with traces of scratch by the martyrs, is still visible.

At the entrance of the town there are two buildings where 500 women and 400 children—the exact number of them is not known—were burned alive. Afterwards, the Americans showered bombs over the place time and again to destroy the evidence of massacre, but in vain.

This occurred after October 17, 1950, when a US regiment occupied the region southwest of Pyongyang, together with many south Korean units. Our guide was seven years old then. All her family—father, mother, sisters and brothers—were killed.

This lasted 52 days until December 7 when the People's Army came down from mountains and launched a counterattack, together with the Chinese Volunteers. Murderers were driven to the 38th parallel. They have left innumerable Oradours behind them.

In Sinchon County in 52 days 35,383 inhabitants, a quarter of the population, were massacred. In Hwanghae Province alone, more than 120,000 civilians were beaten to death, burned, drowned or buried alive. This is a temporary figure. Many remains and common graves are still being discovered. There is no family which didn't lose its members under the most atrocious circumstances.

After the flight of occupants, there were heavy bombings by the US aircraft for more than two years.

People's Korea became the country of orphans. There are millions of orphans, widows and widowers. No wonder that one can see in films and theatrical performances the scenes in which lost children, missing parents and friends are sought. This is the life all the Koreans went through.

The Americans destroyed all, but they could not conquer the territory. In 1953 the people of north Korea emerged from under the ground where they had survived and fought against aggression for three years. The imperialists suffered defeat. They had to conduct negotiations and accept ceasefire.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea began to heal the war wounds and set to work energetically.

The Americans hoped that by crushing the north, they could give the south, their colony, a chance to show its merits. In the above chapters we have seen what errors they committed.

In a few years, under the guidance of the Workers' Party, the people's government and President Kim Il Sung, the "Korean miracle" made the Democratic People's Republic of Korea a new country with a powerful and balanced economy resting on the Juche-oriented and independent base. All comparison proves to be disadvantageous to the south.

If the American and south Korean militaries unleash another aggression war against the north, they will fall immediately into the trap of a people's war with which they have got a bitter experience in Indo-China.

Massacres like those in Sinchon will be no longer possible today. An enemy who dares to provoke the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will, above all, have to wrestle with a well-trained modern army. Even supposing he occupies part of the territory, he

will no more find the vulnerable people whom he can destroy at his will as in 1950.

Across the whole of north Korea the people are placed under arms.

Actually, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, functionaries and students know like soldiers how to handle their small arms. One may say that each province, each city, each village, each factory, each brigade of the cooperatives is ready to defend itself against any surprise attack from land, sea or air, making good use of the conditions of terrain.

As President Kim Il Sung said in his report to the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in 1970, the arming of the whole people has been effected in the north of the 38th parallel. As soldiers of the second year of the French Republic, millions of Korean workers are ready to fight and sacrifice themselves for the defence of their socialist fatherland. Arming of the whole people in the face of the menace from the south which is still under occupation is a factor contributing to the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula.

The people placed under arms can hardly be an offensive instrument. It is the most effective means of defence against aggression.

4. PROPOSITIONS OF PYONGYANG

Ever since the signing of truce at Panmunjom in July 1953, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea resumed her efforts for peaceful national reunification.

As its attempt to "beat back communism" and include north Korea in the "free world" had been foiled,

the United States strove to perpetuate the division and maintain their control over the south.

The political conference provided for in the Armistice Agreement was torpedoed by the United States in November 1953, two months later.

In 1954 the Korean question was discussed at the Geneva Conference. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which could participate there despite the obstruction manoeuvres of the United States, proposed the reestablishment of national unity and the conduct of free election in the whole of the country after all the foreign troops were withdrawn. The United States refused and, with incredible impudence characteristic of their behavior, demanded the withdrawal of the Chinese Volunteers from the north zone, while keeping its occupation troops in the south zone under the cover of the UN flag. It even proposed to make its Seoul puppet regime that of all Korea.

Thus ended the Geneva Conference.

In October 1954 the Eighth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK declared that there were no moot questions that could not be settled through talks and consultations. It proposed to convene in Pyongyang or in Seoul a joint conference of the representatives of the political parties and mass organizations or a joint session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK and the National Assembly of Seoul with a view to discussing economic and cultural exchanges, postal communications and free travel between two parts of Korea. These propositions as well as those made in August 1955, April 1956, September 1957, February 1958 met with a refusal or even failed to receive any answer from the Syngman Rhee regime whose decisions for the most part were taken in the US embassy.

The conviction that peaceful reunification is possible, is explicitly revealed in all the texts made

public in Pyongyang. Here is, for example, the statement of the Government of the DPRK dated February 5, 1958:

1. In order to ease the tense situation in Korea and settle the Korean question peacefully, the US army and all the other foreign forces including the Chinese Volunteers must be withdrawn simultaneously from north and south Korea.

2. In a fixed date, after the complete withdrawal of all the foreign troops from the north and the south, free election will be held in the whole of the country (this election can be effected under the supervision of an organization of neutral nations).

3. With a view to discussing questions concerning economic and cultural exchanges between the north and the south as well as general election, negotiation will be held at an early date between the north and the south on the basis of equality.

4. The troops of the north and the south will be reduced to the minimum respectively in the near future.

The propositions of Pyongyang were accompanied by very concrete steps: as a result of the talks between the governments of the DPRK and China, a decision was taken on the withdrawal of all the Chinese Volunteers from north Korea before the end of 1958.

As the Soviet people did ten years before, all the Chinese servicemen were actually pulled out within that year.

But, in the south, the US imperialist troops remained and created menacing strategic bases.

Seoul: From One Dictator to Another

In April 1960, the south Korean people rose up following the too evidently fraudulent "presidential

election" which had taken place in the previous month. Demonstration spread over big towns and, in a few days, turned into a general uprising which Syngman Rhee could not resist despite the support of Americans.

For lack of a solid orientation, the movement was arrested before attaining its aim: the regime headed by Chang Myon (July 1960) with the demagogic slogans such as "building a welfare society" or "extending democracy" was duly controlled by the US embassy.

On August 14, 1960, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the liberation of the country, President Kim Il Sung made important propositions for the peaceful reunification of the country on the principles of independence and democracy.

If the south Korean authorities could not accept, for the moment, free general election in all Korea, a system of confederation of the north and the south could be created as a transitional step prior to complete reunification. A supreme national council consisting of the representatives of the Governments of the DPRK and the Republic of Korea (south) should be formed to undertake mainly the task of coordinating the economic and cultural development of the north and the south as a whole. The political systems in the north and the south should remain unchanged and the two governments should continue their independent activities.

These realistic propositions reaffirmed and adopted by the Supreme People's Assembly in November 1960 evoked a profound echo among the south Korean people who had removed Syngman Rhee and upon whom the suppression by the police terror regime was not yet imposed. There arose a demand for opening negotiations with the north among the people of all walks of life in the south who had seriously suffered from the division of the country. The movement ra-

pidly gained momentum and the Chang Myon regime turned out to be incapable of resisting the mounting discontentment of the people.

The Americans understood that their policy was seriously endangered this time. They could no more resort to demagoguery or spurious democracy. On May 16, 1961, the military coup d'etat prepared by the US embassy and secret agents of the CIA as done many times afterwards in other countries, established the dictatorship of the most reactionary generals in Seoul.

Pak Jung Hi was installed as the head of this regime and then, in accordance with a concocted scenario, made himself "elected" president by fraudulence. Repression descended again on the people. The police network attained an unprecedented proportion. This caused and is causing the reign of snoopers everywhere. Thus block was laid in the way of reunification, though temporarily.

However, the DPRK Government continued to make propositions: June 1962, October of the same year, December 1963, March 1964, May 1965 and so on.

Though the Seoul dictators make efforts to stifle the reasonable appeal from the north, it finds its way in the hearts of the people. The Revolutionary Party for Reunification which is engaged in underground activities is contributing to the awakening of the south Korean patriots.

The artificial division of Korea brought brutal separation of families and friends, and it is known that the number of the persons affected by this separation amounts to ten millions. Herein lies the psychological force of the propositions reiterated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Eight-Point Proposal of April 1971

It is necessary to lay stress on the particular impact of the eight-point programme solemnly advanced by the Supreme People's Assembly on April 12, 1971. It constitutes simultaneously a synthesis of the precedent propositions and an adaptation to the present situation. Here is the outline of the text which is fundamental:

1. To make the US imperialist aggressor troops withdraw from south Korea and solve the national question by the efforts of the Korean people themselves on the principle of national self-determination.

2. To reduce the armed forces in north and south Korea to 100,000 or less each.

3. To abolish all the shackling pacts, treaties and agreements concluded by the Seoul regime with foreign countries, notably with the United States and Japan, oppose all forms of interference in the domestic affairs and realize national sovereignty.

4. To hold free general elections by universal suffrage and secret ballot in the whole of Korea on the principles of independence and democracy and establish a unified central government.

5. With a view to election, to guarantee all the political parties, public organizations and individual personages of north and south Korea complete freedom of political activities, in all regions of the north and the south, release without conditions all the political prisoners and patriots who have been arrested and imprisoned in the south on charge of their struggle for reunification and ensure the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, demonstration and strike.

6. Prior to complete reunification, to establish, if

necessary, a Confederation of north and south Korea as a transitional step for solving the urgent problems of common concern, leaving the differing socio-political systems in the north and the south intact.

7. To promote between the north and the south the relations of commerce, the economic cooperation and exchange in all spheres and reestablish postal correspondence and the travel of personages in order to alleviate the suffering of division and restore the severed national ties.

8. To hold a political consultative meeting of the north and the south for discussing the immediate tasks and solving the question of reunification.

Dictator Pak Jung Hi responded with a categorical "no" the moment these propositions were made public. This only revealed the weakness of his position.

On August 6, 1971, President Kim Il Sung declared:

"We are ready to come in touch at any time with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea."

His speech produced the effect of a bomb in Seoul and Pak Jung Hi could not prevent its sound from being heard by all.

The favorable response spread too widely to be stifled openly. The Americans, who put their fingers in the fire in Indo-China after Korea, oriented themselves towards applying the doctrine advanced by Nixon in Guam: to pit Asians against Asians and practice relative disengagement, while the United States keeping up its military support. Washington sought the equivalent for Korea of the "Vietnamization" in Indo-China. A certain anxiety was manifested among the ruling circles of Seoul.

Anxiety was all the more evinced as the April 1971 presidential elections had revealed the power of the

opposition. Supported by the US imperialists, Pak Jung Hi had modified the Constitution so as to obtain the third mandate.

But forty-five-year-old Mr. Kim Dae Jung, his chief adversary, a dynamic member of the National Assembly, and the leader of the New Democratic Party, supported by the whole of the opposition, rallied a considerable force "against injustice and corruption". He advocated the promotion of national investment in opposition to the influx of foreign capital.

He proposed to substitute the respect of democracy and the policy of détente which would lead to peaceful reunification for the Pak regime's police dictatorship and its war policy toward the north. Hundreds of thousands of people acclaimed him in Seoul and other towns. Committees for the defence of democracy were formed everywhere.

Pak Jung Hi had to mobilize all his army, police forces and bands of snoopers to evade defeat. This enormous apparatus of fraudulence won him only 700,000 votes over Mr. Kim Dae Jung, and in Seoul where a menace against the electorate and stuffing the ballot boxes were more difficult, the dictator took the second place.

Such was the south Korean situation when, at noon, on August 20, 1971, the first meeting of the representatives of the Red Crosses of the north and the south took place in Panmunjom on the 38th parallel. Dictator Pak Jung Hi had to make concessions in relation with Pyongyang. It is evident that he was also prompted by the evolution of the international relations.

5. CONDITIONS OF REUNIFICATION

In south Korea a conflict of interests is becoming sharper and sharper. The "Tokyo Shibaura Electric Co.", the "Nippon Electric Co.", the "Mitsubishi Corp.", the "Nippon Steel Corp.", the "Tokyo Cotton Ltd.", the "Mitsubishi Heavy Industries", the Tokyo and Mitsubishi Banks, etc. are watching with uneasiness the penetration into south Korea of American giants which menace their operations already started there. "General Motors", "Caterpillar" and "Westinghouse", for example, have already made or are making agreements with south Korea for their infiltration.

French capitalism is also present there, ranking the third place in foreign investments after the United States and Japan, with more than 1,000 million francs. The Pechiney Company is preparing a contract with Seoul for the exploitation of copper and bauxite.

The Pak Jung Hi regime, under the protection of US imperialism, serves as a covering for such pillage. Particularly dangerous is the agreement on the right to industrial property which was concluded with the Japanese authorities in the autumn of 1972 with a view to speeding up Japanese penetration.

At an interview given to journalists of the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun*, President Kim Il Sung said:

"This will create the danger of another Japanese invasion of south Korea, just as the Japanese imperialists invaded our country in 1894 under the pretext of protecting the Japanese property and the Japanese residents."

In the complicated situation created by a new

balance of forces in the world, the US and Japanese monopolies are opposed to each other in their own interests, but league with each other in the common interests of imperialism for preventing its decline and gaining as many new grounds for exploitation as possible. This is how they have become rivals and, at the same time, accomplices in this "hot" region of the northern Pacific today. South Korea today is a land very much coveted because there is skilled labour force as cheap as "a mouthful of bread or a cup of coffee" as an American prospector cabled to the director of his firm.

Contrary to this, in the northern half of the country where there have been no more foreign troops since 14 years ago, a balanced, independent national economy develops to meet not the demands of the rapacious monopolies but those of the nation.

"Juche" which calls for an independent stand in all domains constitutes an essential element of the policies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The gulf between the two zones of the artificially divided country will be gradually narrowed down only when an end is put to the US military intervention in the southern half. This last condition is vital to changing the course of development of the situation.

As long as south Korea is occupied by the US troops and ruled by the fascist dictator who makes it a national policy to encourage foreign penetration and protect the interests of some "comprador capitalists" to the detriment of the country, the reunification will not be possible.

In his report presented in the name of the Central Committee before the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in November 1970, President Kim Il Sung declared:

"To reunify the divided homeland is the greatest and most pressing national task for the entire Ko-

rean people at present. Its solution brooks not a moment's delay."

As is already mentioned above, President Kim Il Sung stressed the urgency of the reunification in his letter addressed in 1965 to the President of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, saying that because of the nation's division for more than a quarter of a century, its community and homogeneity had been threatened.

Clarifying the conditions for putting an end to the division at the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, President Kim Il Sung said:

"To achieve national reunification, it is essential to expel from south Korea the US imperialist aggressors who are its main obstacle and liquidate their colonial rule, overthrow the present fascist military dictatorship and win the victory of the revolution. When a true people's regime is thus established in south Korea, the reunification of our homeland will be achieved easily by the united efforts of the socialist forces in the northern half of the Republic and the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea."

"The people in the southern half are not alone in their revolutionary struggle. They have a powerful revolutionary base in the northern half."

"The oppressed and exploited masses can win freedom and emancipation only through their own revolutionary struggle."

The Mist Clears Off

Korea's peaceful reunification has been the consistent line of Pyongyang. At the interview accorded to newsmen of the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* on January 10, 1972, President Kim Il Sung again set forth a concrete way for peaceful reunification:

"In order to remove this tension, it is necessary, first of all, to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement between north and south. We maintain that a peace agreement should be concluded between north and south and the armed forces of both sides be cut drastically following the prior withdrawal of US imperialist aggressor troops from south Korea.

"We have made it clear more than once that we have no intention of 'invading the south'. If the south Korean rulers have no intentions of 'marching north for reunification', there should be no reason for them to refuse a north-south peace agreement."

"We keep our door constantly open to anyone for north-south negotiations and contacts. If anyone, regardless of earlier crimes against the country and the people, sincerely repents his past and takes the road of patriotism for the peaceful reunification of our country, we will not ask about his past crimes but gladly negotiate with him on the question of national reunification."

This is, needless to say, a proposal of prime importance. Though the Armistice Agreement signed in 1953 put an end to hostilities, the Korean question remains entirely unsettled. Conclusion of a peace agreement will eliminate such situation, abate the hostility between the two zones and bring about an era of mutual understanding and trust.

Another obstacle to reunification is the military alliances which the Seoul regime concluded with Japan and the United States. In its 8-point statement made public in April 1971, the Pyongyang Government proposed to abrogate these alliances.

Whenever chance offered itself, the Government of the DPRK reiterated its propositions. On April 28, 1972, President Kim Il Sung declared to the correspondent of the *Kyodo Press* of Japan that Pyongyang was ready immediately to hold a talk with Seoul for

reunification, the "most ardent desire of the Korean people". He added that the DPRK was prepared to send its representatives to the UN General Assembly if this organization did not impose any condition on their participation.

The changes being made in the direction of detente in Korea are reflected also in the May 26 interview accorded by President Kim Il Sung to the journalists of the US newspaper *New York Times*, H. E. Salisbury and John M. Lee, who were the first Americans to come to north Korea in a quarter of a century.

President Kim Il Sung declared that the Pyongyang Government would not remain still if Washington and Tokyo changed their policies towards it.

He said in words to this effect:

If the US Government wants to improve its relations with the DPRK, it must stop, first of all, interfering in the internal affairs of Korea so that the question of Korea's reunification can be settled independently by the Koreans themselves.

To this end, the US troops must, first of all, get out of south Korea.

We believe that if we Koreans sit down together, we will be able to remove distrust and misunderstanding and find common denominators and achieve national unity.

The difference in systems in the north and the south must not be made an obstacle to the attainment of the country's reunification.

President Kim Il Sung, however, stressed that the people in the northern half of Korea were constantly on the alert for possible US aggression and educated in a hatred towards imperialism. The terrible experience which the Korean people underwent makes them keep vigilance, and this is understandable.

The objective of the talks between the representatives of the Red Crosses which are still in a prelimin-

any stage for one year certainly appears modest compared to the great cause of reunification. It is a matter of searching for parents and friends separated for 20 years in both sides of the demarcation line and of making it possible for them to resume contacts by correspondence and mutual visits. This is a minimum measure which has been incessantly proposed by the north Koreans.

A Breach in the Wall

A first breach was made in the merciless wall which bisected the country, and the DPRK decided to show its patience and flexibility necessary for enlarging the first contact.

It can be noted as an important fact that a fraternal atmosphere prevailed in the course of the talks between the representatives of the Red Crosses of the north and the south which was held in Pyongyang in November 1971, where it was declared that a compromise could be made, apart from questions of principle, with a view to passing from the preliminary talks to official negotiations at any cost.

This prudence brought about its first fruits. On June 5, 1972, after 13 sittings, the representatives of both Red Crosses came to an agreement, in fact, on the agenda of the full-dress talks which would decide, notably, the procedures of travel between the two parts of Korea and, eventually, of the reunion of separated families.

The talks were to be held alternatively in Pyongyang and in Seoul according to the proposal made from the start by the north Koreans; they would be convened before September 1972, the date of the session of the UN General Assembly.

This was an immensely important achievement which might open up a period of detente between the

two parts of Korea. It was all the more so because it was attained through a stubborn struggle against the malice of the Seoul dictators.

The Seoul dictators, for example, proclaimed a "state of emergency" in south Korea and appointed May 1972 as the "month of anti-espionage and anti-communism."

Throughout south Korea were held oratorical, fine art, and literary contests to win a victory over communism which were organized with dexterity fit to the Seoul authorities and, at the same time, there was a "campaign for moral rearmament" oriented in the same sense.

From April large-scale military exercises took place which were designed to bend the opposition parties which showed fits of enthusiasm in favour of the country's reunification. The aim of these activities was evidently to cool down the south Korean people's enthusiasm which had been heightened by the preliminary talks with the north.

The report on the results of the talks was made pervertedly with too much passion at Pak Jung Hi's discretion.

On the contrary, in order to extend as far as possible the already-attained results in the interests of Korea as a whole, the leaders of the DPRK put forward the following problems:

- 1) To settle as many questions as possible in the framework of official negotiations between the two Red Crosses;

- 2) To pass from the contacts between the two Red Crosses to those between the political parties and social organizations in the north and the south which will make it possible to deal with the fundamental problems of reunification.

Agreement of July

An information was made public simultaneously in Pyongyang and Seoul on July 4, 1972, to the effect that secret high-level talks were held between both sides in the capital of the DPRK from May 2 to 5, 1972, and in Seoul of south Korea from May 29 to June 1.

About the fact that the talks were held according to the proposal of the Seoul authorities, President Kim Il Sung said this later:

"The pressure of the south Korean people and the strong opinion of the people of the world forced the south Korean authorities to propose secret north-south high-level talks separately from the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south."

The Joint Statement adopted at the talks announced that those were attended from the south by Li Hu Rak, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and from the north by Kim Yong Ju, Director of the Organizational Guidance Department of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, and Second Vice-Premier Pak Song Chol. The statement also pointed out that an open-hearted exchange of opinions was made from the common desire to realize the peaceful reunification of the country at the earliest possible date. It can be said that the Joint Statement is of historic significance for the future of Korea.

The two sides agreed upon defining in the first part of the statement the following three-point principle for national reunification:

1. Reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its

- interference;
2. Reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;
 3. Great national unity of Korea as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system.

The proposals which were advanced repeatedly for many years by the Pyongyang side as mentioned above proved that this statement of principle constitutes a victory of the firm position maintained by President Kim Il Sung and other leaders of the DPRK.

The following points of the Joint Statement are devoted to various practical measures upon which an agreement was reached as well:

- To refrain from slandering and calumniating the other side and committing armed provocations and take active measures for preventing unexpected military conflicts, in order to ease the tension between the north and the south and create an atmosphere of trust;

- To realize many-sided interchange in various domains in order to restore the national ties, promote mutual understanding and accelerate independent peaceful reunification;

- To render active assistance in bringing the north-south Red Cross talks to early success in order to answer the great expectation of the whole nation;

- To install a permanent direct telephone linking Pyongyang and Seoul to prevent unforeseen military incidents and deal directly, promptly and accurately with the questions that may arise;

- The two sides agreed upon forming and operating a North-South Co-ordination Commission with

Kim Yong Ju and Li Hu Rak as its Co-Chairmen for the purpose of implementing these points of agreement and, at the same time, improving and settling various problems between the north and the south and achieving the country's reunification on the basis of the principles agreed upon.

Convinced that "the points of agreement mentioned above conform to the unanimous desire of the whole nation which aspires after national reunification so ardently", the two sides promised "solemnly to the whole nation to honestly fulfil these points of agreement".

The Good Words and the Acts

In order to "equilibrate", so to speak, the promises which they made against their will, the Seoul authorities held a number of trials in July 1972 to sentence the south Korean patriots to death or penal servitude for life and executed many people. Pyongyang protested against this curious way of "honestly implementing" the agreement.

In September 1972, at the time of discussion on the budget of south Korea in which the military expense was augmented, too, the Seoul government declared that it must "increase national strength" in order to "realize reunification under the system of liberal democracy." This is an elegant way of maintaining the capitalist regime. At the same time, the Seoul government stressed the need to maintain and develop the joint defence system on the basis of the ROK-US treaty and announced that it would make an effort for the perpetual presence of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the UN forces in south Korea. This is another elegant way of making the US troops and its other services continue to occupy south Korea.

A commentator pointed out in his article published in Pyongyang in *Rodong Sinmun* that "such acts completely run counter to the fundamental spirit of the Joint Statement."

At the already-cited interview accorded in September 1972 to the journalists of the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun*, President Kim Il Sung criticized the south Korean authorities:

"They say good words when they have face-to-face talks with us. But as soon as they turn on their heels, they slander us and become engrossed in statements and acts contrary to the fundamental spirit of the joint statement."

"This act will only help produce an atmosphere of war rather than an atmosphere of reunification."

"Another major principle of national reunification clarified in the north-south joint statement is that of promoting the great unity of the nation transcending the differences in ideology, ideal and social system."

"If we do not force the socialist system of the northern half upon south Korea and the south Korean authorities do not force us to restore the capitalist system, why should we, one and the same nation, fight against each other? We are not forcing socialism upon south Korea. What society south Korea will be in the future will be decided by the south Korean people according to their own will. The south Korean rulers are now clamouring that a 'wind of freedom' should be sent into the north. This arrogant attitude is aimed at obstructing peaceful reunification."

"For the sake of national reunification we are restraining our indignation and showing patience...."

Stages of Reunification

The pro-US regime of Seoul, as might be expected, did not change its nature even after the beginning of the contact with Pyongyang. But it finds itself in a serious contradiction between its original stand and the stand which it is compelled to adopt in a new international and internal political situation.

With a view to enlarging the breach made on the political and military barrier of the 38th parallel, the DPRK also put forward its proposals for bringing into reality the measures agreed upon in the Joint Statement.

In the course of the first two official contacts between the Red Cross delegations which were made in Pyongyang on August 30 and in Seoul on September 13, the representative of the Red Cross society of north Korea proposed the participation of political parties and social organizations in the talks. The south Korean delegation refused it. But it is obvious that the effort will be continued in this direction.

Extended and many-sided contacts serve, in fact, as the most effective instrument for removing misunderstanding and distrust.

Defining more concretely the stages of reunification, President Kim Il Sung said to the journalists of *Mainichi Shimbun* in September 1972:

"...we insist on immediately holding political negotiations such as a joint conference of political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea, or a conference of the north and south Korean authorities or a joint conference of our Supreme People's Assembly deputies and the south Korean 'national assemblymen'.

"...we deem it necessary to institute a north-south Confederation for the present.

"The north-south Confederation we propose involves the formation of a Supreme National Council with representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the 'Government of the Republic of Korea'... while maintaining the present political systems of the north and south as they are. ...if both the north and south abide by the principle of not forcing their social systems on each other, there will be no reasons why they should not institute a north-south Confederation."

When this is achieved, mutual visits and economic and cultural intercourse will be promptly carried into practice.

He remarked:

"...it will be possible to rapidly improve the economic situation of south Korea by utilizing the developed heavy industry and rich underground resources in the northern half of the Republic and it will greatly benefit the people in both parts of Korea."

As the final stage, the independent, peaceful reunification of the country will be actualized by way of establishing an all-Korea unified government through north-south general elections on a democratic basis without any interference of outside forces.

This is the logical conception of process of reunification formulated by Pyongyang, and Seoul, after all, has no ground whatever to oppose it.

Anachronism

An essential problem which still remains to be solved is that of foreign interferences.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"We are in alliance with the Soviet Union and China, but they do not meddle in the internal affairs of our country. There are neither Soviet troops nor Chinese People's Volunteers in our country. The

outside forces now encroaching upon our sovereignty and standing in the way of our national reunification are none other than US imperialism and some Japanese reactionaries."

The United States abuses the flag of the UN for the military occupation of south Korea, and this is on all accounts a fraud.

But today, under the prevailing situation brought about by the balance of forces in the world, such a trickery is completely anachronistic. It is convinced that despite the United States' manoeuvres for retardation, an end will be put to such an act in the near future.

The draft resolution which was submitted by Algeria and supported by the Soviet Union, China and 25 other countries at the UN General Assembly session in the autumn of 1972, demanded the abolition of the right to usage of the UN flag by the US troops, their withdrawal from south Korea and the dissolution of the "UNCURK" which was a pure tool for the US intervention in the Korean affairs. At that time the United States manoeuvred so that the Korean question could not be discussed in 1972 and succeeded, by means of pressure and blackmail, in obtaining the majority of 70 votes against 35, with 21 abstentions. The representative of France was bold enough to abstain. It must be noted, however, that the argumentation of the United States, which had been virulent before concerning the Korean question had to be revised.

It insisted this time on putting off still more the discussion in order not to "hinder the process of the rapprochement in progress between Pyongyang and Seoul".

The pretext gives a gudgeon, but a principal obstacle to the reunification of Korea is just the presence of the US troops in south Korea.

Here is another indication of the worsening of the US position: On the eve of the vote in the UN General Assembly on the draft resolution of 28 countries, a "secret" was leaked out that M. Melvin Laird, Chief of the Pentagon, had declared in July at a closed-door meeting of a sub-committee of the House of Representatives that the US troops would withdraw from Korea in 1975 or 1976.

In the meantime, the "Nixon doctrine" would be applied and 1,000 million dollars be expended for strengthening the Seoul army.

If the United States is not constrained to modify its plans but allowed to maintain till 1975 or 1976 the military occupation of south Korea this will impede considerably and perhaps blur again the perspectives opened by the contacts between the north and the south.

However, the mist has cleared off. Thanks to the efforts of Pyongyang, and despite the obstructive machinations of Seoul, the tension decreases between the two parts of Korea, instead of worsening. The contacts remain insignificant and fragile, but, all the Korean people expect so much from them that it would be difficult for the rulers in Seoul to break them without bringing themselves a tempest of great danger.

The remarks made by Pak Jung Hi at the time of coercive measure at the end of 1972 prove it. Proclaiming a martial law on October 17 for the purpose of revising the Constitution so as to remain in power for life, the dictator formed a pretext that the new measure was indispensable for the contacts established with the north with a view to reunifying the country.

The colossal assembly which he concocted in December is totally impotent. Its 2,359 members were strictly selected on his special orders from among

those "who were not afflicted with political pollution", that is to say, those kowtowing before him. It is a noteworthy fact that the assembly was named "National Council for Independent Reunification".

Democracy, which had not existed ever before in the acts, has disappeared in documents.

Opposition parties are temporarily placed under suppression. Their leaders are arrested or put under house arrest. In spite of police network, their persecution and frequent tortures, the oppositions will be sure to revive in the hard struggle against oppression, and this will be the day of the debacle of the dictatorship.

Seoul's Motivation

On November 4, 1972, an agreement was reached between Pyongyang and Seoul, on the constitution and functions of the North-South Co-ordination Commission, which was foreseen in the Joint Statement of July, on the same day, four months ago.

The commission is entitled to discuss and decide upon the questions concerning the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, political exchanges between political parties, social organizations and individual personages, economic and cultural interchange and all the measures to be taken for easing tension and avoiding conflicts between the north and the south.

Guided by two co-chairmen, each assisted by one vice-chairman, one executive member and two members, the commission shall meet once in every 2 or 3 months alternatively in Pyongyang and Seoul and, if necessary, at Panmunjom where the joint secretariat is installed.

The executive council shall deal with all problems arising during the recess of the Co-ordination Com-

mission and guarantee the execution of decisions of the commission.

The setting up of this official and permanent body may be considered to be a major stage in the undoubtedly still long way to the reunification of Korea.

It is necessary to know what motivated Seoul to accept the contacts and negotiations proposed by the DPRK ever since 1945.

The position of US imperialism grew weak in the general balance of forces in the world. Defeated in Korea 20 years ago and beaten in Indo-China this time, US imperialism now is in a position of retreat with part of its tentacles pulled back.

The "Nixon doctrine"—giving dollars and American technique to the natives and making them fight each other—affords an illustration of it.

In the Asiatic context, Nixon's visit to China and the sudden normalization of relations between Tokyo and Peking greatly changed the political climate in this area. The Seoul regime, which was rigged up and patronized—as is the case with Saigon—by the United States in the prevailing climate in the past came to suddenly feel isolated from what is going on around it, seized by the fear of being abandoned by its protector and master without whom it cannot survive. The Seoul regime, an instrument of cold war, feels itself like a prehistorical marine animal thrown on the beach.

The Seoul regime, an unimaginable police regime, has been severely shaken by the evolution of the international situation, as it was done by the movement of the interior opposition.

The example of the south Korean students is instructive in this regard. Higher education is very onerous in south Korea where all universities are private establishments. Most of the students are children of the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie at least.

Their courageous actions on the streets of big cities illustrate how extensive the popular opposition is.

The south Korean medium and small enterprises became more and more difficult to check the powerful influx of foreign capital. One may think that they regard the overture with Pyongyang and the resumption of exchange with the DPRK as a way out of their mortal crisis.

These diverse internal and external factors together with the people's courageous efforts for the country's reunification may explain the sudden change in the attitude of the Seoul rulers.

Of course, there might be many obstacles to overcome. However, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the DPRK, led by President Kim Il Sung, have been so stubborn in struggle and so consistent in politics that today, after more than a quarter of a century, they may have a hope to reap the finest harvest: a promise of the reunified fatherland.

The tree in the middle of the Pyongyang-Seoul railway will certainly be cut down in the not distant future.

OCCUPATION OF SOUTH KOREA BY US TROOPS—THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

Members of an IADL Delegation of Inquiry

Leora Mosston (USA), Attorney, Member of the International Committee of the National Lawyers Guild, Alternate IADL Delegate to Non-Government Organizations of the United Nations, New York; Okudaira Yasuhiro (Japan), Professor, the Institute of Social Science, Tokyo University; Romeo Ferrucci (Italy), Magistrate, Secretary of the Italian Association of Democratic Lawyers; Robert Dachet (Belgium), Executive Secretary of the IADL

This is the memorandum on the question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea prepared by the delegation of inquiry of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers which paid a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in September 1974.

Almost 30 years after liberation and the ending of the Second World War, Korea which had been one of the first victims of Japanese imperialism at the beginning of the century is still divided and is denied her national fundamental rights, in particular, the right of the whole of the Korean nation to decide on

unity and to determine the fate of her people without any outside interference.

A victim of aggression, Korea is thus denied the very rights which were recognized a long time ago to the country of its aggressors.

Twenty-one years after signing the Armistice Agreement in July 1953, south Korea is still occupied by American armed forces and the Military Demarcation Line which had been designed as a temporary line continues to be imposed by the will of these same occupying forces; dividing Korean families, preventing people in the south from having any contacts with their brothers in the north or from corresponding with them. Not long ago, heavy prison sentences and even capital punishment were imposed against south Koreans who had demanded the reestablishment of normal contacts between the peoples of the north and the south, the independent peaceful reunification of the country and the democratization of south Korean society. Human as well as political and legal considerations make such a situation intolerable.

The United Nations under whose flag the armed forces of the United States continue to occupy south Korea and to weigh with all their might on Korean affairs, is now conscious of the seriousness of the situation and of its illegality according to international law and the very principles of the UN Charter. During its 28th Session of the General Assembly, the UN adopted a consensus under the terms of which the UNCURK (the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea) was dissolved, thus recognizing today that there is no legal basis for UN intervention in Korean affairs.

In the text of this consensus which was adopted without objection on November 28, 1973, the General Assembly of the UN expressed the hope that the north and the south of Korea "would continue their dialogue so as to accelerate the independent and peaceful

reunification of the country." Under the consensus, the General Assembly noted with satisfaction that a Joint Statement was issued by the north and the south of Korea on July 4, 1972, which provided for the following three principles on reunification:

- 1) That reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or interference;
- 2) by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;
- 3) and great national unity should be promoted.

The consensus also stated the general hope that the south and north of Korea would be urged to continue their dialogue and widen their many-sided exchanges and cooperation.

KOREA AS ONE NATION

It is necessary to remember that Korea, which has been forcibly divided for almost 30 years, is, historically speaking, a homogeneous nation.

While the artificial division has been maintained by force and by the occupation of south Korea by US armed forces, the concept of Korea as one nation has been recognized and stressed on different occasions in international documents.

The division of Korea at the 38th parallel, south of which American troops were stationed in September 1945, and the present Demarcation Line which was fixed by the Armistice Agreement signed in Panmunjom on July 27, 1953, were not intended to be definitive "borders" constituting a frontier between two nations, but rather temporary military lines pending the signing of political agreements on the reunification of the country.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers from the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States held in Moscow in December 1945, resolved: "to reestablish Korea as an independent state on the basis of democratic principles." To this effect, the Conference recommended "the setting up of a provisional democratic government in Korea at an early date".

At the end of the 1950-53 war, the Panmunjom Armistice Agreement, signed by the Commander-in-Chief of the US armed forces in the name of the United Nations, contained the following recommendation in Article IV, Paragraph 60:

"In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."

More recently, in the North-South Joint Statement signed on July 4, 1972, the two parties recognized that the objective of an independent and peaceful reunification of Korea was not only in conformity with these principles of law but also with the wishes of the Korean nation as a whole.

Point seven of the Joint Statement reads as follows:

"The two sides, firmly convinced that the aforementioned agreed items correspond to the common aspirations of the entire people, who are anxious to see an early reunification of the fatherland, hereby solemnly pledge before the entire Korean people that they will faithfully carry out these agreed items."

Lastly, the above-mentioned United Nations con-

sensus in November 1973, in which the General Assembly expressed its hope for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea based on the three principles adopted in the North-South Joint Statement, confirms implicitly the existence of one Korean nation and the need to promote the peaceful reunification of Korea without foreign interference.

OBSTACLES TO REUNIFICATION

The Occupation of south Korea in 1945.

On September 8, 1945, when the US Army landed in Korea, the country had already been liberated from Japanese imperialist domination since August 15; therefore, US troops did not arrive in Korea as liberators but acted instead as an occupation force. Proclamation No. 1 made by General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief, US Army Forces, Pacific, clearly illustrates the US government's intent:

"...By virtue of the authority vested in me as Commander-in-Chief, the United States Army Forces, Pacific, I hereby establish military control over Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the inhabitants thereof.... Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely.... For all purposes during the military control, English will be the official language...." *

The US government rejected, in fact, the recommendations concurred to by the Conference of Foreign Ministers from the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, held in December 1945 on the future of Korea, and began manoeuvring at the diplomatic level in order to prevent any progress in the procedure

laid down for the peaceful reunification of Korea and the early evacuation of foreign troops already agreed to. *

* From the very beginning, the American Military Administration relied on the administrative services set up by the Japanese. On September 11, 1945, the American Commander reorganized the "General Government", which had served the Japanese occupying forces, and turned it into the "Military Administration" of the American occupying forces in south Korea, thus integrating into the American Administration the personnel who had collaborated with the Japanese. In addition, the American Administration maintained effective more than 500 laws and acts promulgated by the Japanese occupying authorities, in particular those relating to the repression of political activities and breaches of law and order.

* Before the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the USA made its decision on Korea in Moscow in December 1945, the US government had put forward a plan for maintaining a military administration in Korea on a long term basis, followed by a 10 year period under international trusteeship. This proposal was rejected and the Soviet proposal in favour of a unified and independent Korea was adopted. But later on, the USA acted in such a way as to prevent any progress in the work of the USSR-USA Joint Commission convened to implement the decisions of the Three Foreign Ministers' Conference. After the Conference had failed, the Soviet government proposed to leave the decision on the question of Korea to the Korean people themselves and to withdraw simultaneously both Soviet troops from the north and American troops from the south. This proposal was in fact implemented unilaterally by the Soviet Union when it withdrew its troops from Korea at the end of 1948.

Thus, as early as 1947, the US government placed the Korean question on the agenda of the Second Session of the UN General Assembly, contravening the provisions of the UN Charter, and of Article 107, in particular, which stated that the UN had no jurisdiction over problems for which a way of settlement had already been established at the end of the Second World War.

Mention should also be made of the setting up by the United States in May 1948 of a separate government headed by their appointee Syngman Rhee, south of the 38th parallel, that is, in the territory occupied by them. Refusal to withdraw its troops from south Korea, although Soviet forces had left the territory of the DPRK by the end of 1948 was only one example of the US's publically announced intention to maintain Korea as a permanent military base for implementing its aggressive plans in Asia.

The war of aggression unleashed on June 25, 1950 brought to light the United States' plans to take over from Japanese imperialism Korea and to occupy the whole country.

SYSTEMATIC VIOLATIONS OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT

Violation of Article IV Par. 60.

In August 1953, the United States signed an agreement with the south Korean government of Syngman Rhee, which permitted the permanent occupation by American troops, for an unlimited duration, over the whole of south Korea. This agreement came into force barely 15 days after the signing of the Panmunjom Armistice Agreement in which the American

Commander, acting in the name of the UN, had subscribed to Article IV Par. 60 recommending the convening of a "political conference of a higher level of both sides... to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."

Signed on August 8, 1953, this American-south Korean mutual defence treaty can be clearly seen in practice as a rejection of the recommendations adopted on July 27 in Panmunjom on "the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea". The Americans' intention to reject the recommendation in Article IV of the Armistice Agreement manifested itself even more clearly during the following months and led to deadlock in the preliminary meetings which were held in Panmunjom and also at the Geneva Conference which lasted from April to June 1954.

Violation of Article II of the Armistice Agreement.

Immediately after the Armistice Agreement was signed, the first ceasefire violations were noted on the part of the American forces and south Korean troops. In 1954, 300 incidents were recorded, provoked by American forces. The number of these incidents and provocations was to rise significantly.

Between the signing of the Armistice Agreement in 1953 and the end of August 1974, 145,590 incidents and provocations against the DPRK were officially reported to the Military Armistice Commission.

On numerous occasions, the American side did recognize these facts in writing and promised that steps would be taken to avoid any repetition of such incidents.

Dozens of documents containing letters of apology and promises of this kind constitute an extraordinarily cynical record of bad faith on the part of the Uni-

ted States which has not hesitated to use such methods under cover of the UN flag. *

Statistics based on documents from the Military Armistice Commission show a considerable increase in the number of incidents and provocations since the military coup in May 1961 led by Pak Jung Hi and an intensification immediately after the North-South Joint Statement was signed concerning the perspectives for peaceful reunification.

Mention should also be made of the open and systematic sabotage, as well as the serious physical attacks carried out against members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission by American and south Korean soldiers in the years immediately following the Panmunjom Agreement.

It is also necessary to recall the serious and systematic violations of the provisions laid down in Article II Par. 13, points a.b.c.d. and in particular points c. and d. which prohibited the introduction of arms and reinforcing military personnel into Korea.

The United States has openly introduced into south Korea nuclear weapons, the latest models of fighterbomber planes, and all types of heavy equipment.

American officials, (among them General Lemnitzer, then Commander of the US 8th Army) have

* As an example, an extract is given below from the letter of apology addressed to the Government of the DPRK by the government of the USA, in December 1968, following the serious incident in which the American ship "Pueblo" was involved earlier that year:

"...(The US government)... shoulders full responsibility and solemnly apologises for the grave acts of espionage committed by the ship against the DPRK after having intruded into the territorial waters of the DPRK and gives firm assurance that no US ship will intrude again in future into the territorial waters of the DPRK."

indeed expressed their satisfaction publicly that Paragraph 13 of the Armistice Agreement had been abrogated in practice: The construction of military ports, air bases and strategic roads had been intensified each year since 1953 by the United States which has transformed south Korea into one vast military base for aggression.

Even after the Joint Statement was issued on the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea, the US continued to reinforce the military strength of the south Korean army and to introduce into south Korea new American military personnel, in particular air squadrons transferred from Japan and Thailand. American statements (from government spokesmen and particularly from the Secretary of State, Mr. H. Kissinger) pointed out that neither the Joint Statement nor the dialogue between the north and the south would put an end to American occupation or military aid to south Korea.

In recent years there have been a series of fresh incidents and serious provocations on the land, in the air space and territorial waters, of the DPRK.

Large scale military exercises are held periodically in south Korea or off her shores, with the aim of preparing the invasion of the DPRK.

In addition, with the support of Japanese military circles the United States is trying to enlist Japan for a military and political adventure in south Korea.

All these factors, only briefly for reasons of space, prove clearly that the main obstacle to a reduction in tension between the north and the south and to an implementation of the measures proposed by the Government of the DPRK for reducing and eliminating the state of military confrontation in Korea* is the presence of US armed forces on the territory of south Korea and their constant interference in Korean affairs.

* On different occasions, the DPRK presented disarmament proposals to the south Korean authorities, with a view to eliminating the state of military confrontation between the north and the south. In March 1973, during the Second Session of the Co-ordinating Committee of the north and the south, the representatives of the DPRK put forward the following 5-point proposal:

1. To cease armament reinforcement and arms race;
2. To make all foreign troops withdraw, including the US Army;
3. To reduce the armed forces in the north and the south to 100,000 men or less, respectively, and to drastically cut their armaments;
4. To stop the introduction of all weapons, combat equipment and war material from abroad;
5. To conclude a peace agreement guaranteeing that the above-mentioned problems shall be solved and that the north and the south shall not use armed forces against each other.

FASCIST TERROR IN SOUTH KOREA IMPOSED BY PAK JUNG HI

Recent events indicate that the presence of American forces has allowed and encouraged the setting up of a fascist regime of terror by the Pak Jung Hi* government. In order to maintain himself "in power" against the will of the people the latter has gradually suppressed all liberties, as well as public and individual rights.

Three days after signing the North-South Joint Statement, the south Korean authorities prosecuted 29 people accused of having advocated the independent peaceful reunification of Korea. Three of the accused

were condemned to death and the remaining 26 to heavy prison sentences and to life imprisonment at hard labour. On July 13, 15 and 28, 1972 south Korean press agencies announced the execution of Kim Gyu Nam, Kim Jil Rak, Pak Dae In and Chong Tae Muk, who were sentenced to death for having demanded the return to democracy in south Korea and promoted the idea of peaceful reunification of the country.

- * The role of the US in the military coup of May 16, 1961 which brought Pak Jung Hi to "power" in Seoul was admitted by Washington itself and had been in preparation for a long time, in view of the growing opposition movements developing in south Korea and threatening to topple the Syngman Rhee regime. At the end of 1959, in a report made by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate, it was stated that it might prove necessary to set up a military regime if the party politics practised by Syngman Rhee failed. Allan Dulles who was then Director of the American Central Intelligence Agency wrote that "the greatest success of the CIA while I was in office was the military coup in south Korea".

In November 1971, the Pak Jung Hi "regime" declared a formal "state of emergency" and proclaimed in October 1972, the "extraordinary martial law," thus intensifying the political repressions already imposed.

In December 1972 Pak arranged a "referendum" on constitutional revisions, permitted the concentration of all executive, legislative, judicial powers in him. The eradication of these vestiges of the rule of law which had prevented complete arbitrary rule now

permitted the promulgation of emergency measures Nos. 1,2,3 and 4.

This new wave of repression leads to the imposition of many death penalties, heavy prison sentences following summary trials by special courts martial, mass arrests, torture of people holding widely different views: militants, workers and peasants, students, teachers, lawyers, Protestant ministers and even Catholic bishops. This widespread lawlessness is enforced by methods, procedures, and "regulations" which have been denounced by all impartial observers, among them lawyers from many countries, including the United States (see the Butler Report on the student trials of July 1974).

An example of the shocking methods used by the south Korean authorities is the kidnapping in Tokyo, in 1973, of Mr. Kim Dae Jung, who was a presidential candidate in the south Korean elections.

Proceedings were initiated against him for his opposition to the Seoul government's policy, despite formal assurances given to him after he was forcibly removed from Tokyo by agents of the south Korean "Central Intelligence Agency" and taken to Seoul. Note should also be taken of the torture systematically inflicted on political prisoners in south Korea. In this respect, the report of Father Nishimura Kankichi, member of the Japanese Parliament, who visited one of the So brothers in the Kwangju prison, supports the evidence of torture. This savage repression and the systematic violations of the very principles of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the provisions set forth in the International Governments on Human and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted in 1966, by the General Assembly of the United Nations are carried out with impunity under the protection and aegis of the US armed for-

ces. This serious situation is further proof that the prime obstacle to detente in Korea and to democratization of south Korean society demanded by wide sectors of international and Korean opinion is the presence of American forces in south Korea.

MANOEUVRES TO MAINTAIN THE PERMANENT DIVISION OF KOREA

Recently the Pak Jung Hi government, in contravention of the course mapped out by both sides in the North-South Joint Statement, suggested the admission of "two Koreas" to the UN. An analysis of these proposals, which were approved and inspired by the US Government, shows that in the present context it would mean the legal recognition of the division of Korea and therefore its indefinite continuation. It is in this light that the Government of the DPRK viewed the American-south Korean proposals and firmly rejected them in accordance with the Government's adherence to the principles of unity for the Korean nation and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The policies followed by the south Korean authorities during the last few years and the measures taken by Pak Jung Hi, especially after the signing of the North-South Joint Statement, have led to a serious worsening of the situation in many respects.

This means that the south Korean authorities have abandoned and are openly violating the terms of the North-South Joint Statement for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

This obvious repudiation by south Korea of the Joint Statement of 1972 is a direct challenge to the will expressed by the Korean people and world public

opinion in favour of reunification and the settlement of Korean affairs by the Koreans themselves. The criminal nature of domestic policies in south Korea has been recognized by many, who denounce the political assassinations, summary trials, death sentences and cases of torture which have increased in recent months. These policies can only be viewed as acting against the interests of the Korean people and against peace in the Far East and Asia.

REASONABLE PROPOSALS FOR A SOLUTION TO THE KOREAN PROBLEM

An objective analysis of the Korean question going back to the end of the Second World War reveals that the principle of an independent reunification of Korea has been the cornerstone of the policy pursued by the Government of the DPRK.

Before north Korea became a Republic, the Workers' Party of Korea and its leader, President Kim Il Sung has put forward various initiatives along these lines, initiatives which were taken up later, in September 1948, by the Government of the DPRK.

Since the foundation of the Republic, many comprehensive and concrete proposals have been presented to achieve the reunification of Korea.

The Government of the DPRK has consistently argued that the reunification of the north and the south of Korea must be achieved through the efforts of the Korean people themselves, by independent and peaceful means and without any outside interference, in accordance with democratic principles and after

all foreign troops have been made to leave south Korean territory.*

The negative attitude adopted by Washington and Seoul cannot hide the existence of serious and reasonable proposals which could be the immediate starting point for effective talks on the question of independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Mention has already been made of the important proposals put forward by the DPRK for the ease of military tension by way of stopping the arms race and drastically reducing the armed forces of the north and the south.

Other proposals presented on several occasions by the Government of the DPRK would allow the exchange of mail and reestablish free movement of persons between the north and the south. From the human point of view, these proposals are extremely important and express the wish of the Korean nation as a whole.

In addition, the Government of the DPRK suggested the establishment of trade and cultural relations between the north and the south but until now these proposals have either been rejected or unanswered by the south Korean government. However, this does not make them less valuable in any way and, if adopted, they could eliminate a number of anomalies which have lasted long enough, and also bring about an appreciable detente in the general climate of Korea.

Lastly, it is worth recalling the 5-point guiding programme proposed by the President of the DPRK,

* From 1946 to this date, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the DPRK put forward proposals and took political and diplomatic initiatives on more than 130 occasions to bring about a reduction in the tension existing between the north and the south, in order to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

Marshal Kim Il Sung on June 23, 1973, because it provides a serious framework for positive negotiations to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. These proposals read as follows:

- “1. To improve the present relations between the north and south of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary, first of all, to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south.
2. To improve the north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification, it is necessary to materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields.
3. In order to settle the question of the country's reunification in conformity with the will and demand of our people, it is necessary to enable the masses of people of all strata in the north and south to participate in the nationwide patriotic work for national reunification.
4. What is of great significance today in speeding up the country's reunification is to institute a north-south Confederation under the name of a single country.
5. We consider that our country should be prevented from being split into two Koreas permanently as a result of the freezing of national division and that the north and south should also work together in the field of external activity.

The north and the south should not enter the UN separately and if they want to enter the UN before the reunification of the country, they should enter it as a single state under the national title of the Confederal Republic of Koryo after the confederation is set up.”

CONCLUSIONS

The principle of Korean unity and the need to speed up the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, after 30 years of division, are undeniable and are generally admitted as such. They are in accordance with the principles of international law and the fundamental principles of the UN Charter. The main obstacle to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is the occupation of south Korea by American troops and constant foreign interference in the internal affairs of the country.

The way in which the talks proceeded during the dialogue held between the north and the south of Korea brought out the impossibility for the Korean people to achieve the reunification of their country through their own efforts as long as foreign troops continue to occupy south Korea under the banner of the UN and to intervene in Korean affairs.

The occupation of south Korean territory by American forces is a gross violation of the territorial sovereignty and integrity of Korea under international law and also a violation of the recommendations in the Armistice Agreement of July 27, 1953 concerning the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.* Furthermore, it constitutes a breach in the terms of the North-South Joint Statement signed on July 4, 1972 with a view to achieving the reunification of Korea independently, and without any outside interference.

* There have been no foreign troops in the DPRK since 1958.

In February 1958, the Government of the DPRK asked

all the countries which had sent troops to Korea to withdraw their troops as soon as possible. The units of Chinese Volunteers, which had participated in the war on the side of the People's Army of the DPRK, immediately began to leave and had completely withdrawn from north Korean territory by the end of 1958.

In addition, the stationing of American troops in south Korea under the flag of the UN represents a grave violation of the provisions laid down in the UN Charter itself and its continuation constitutes an open challenge to the member states of the United Nations, which respect the principle of the sovereignty of other countries and intend that it should be respected in conformity with the Charter of the UN and the principles of international law.

By dissolving the "UNCURK" under the terms of the consensus adopted without objection on November 28, 1973, the General Assembly of the United Nations confirmed that there was no legal basis for keeping American troops in south Korea under the flag of the UN or under some special arrangement contravening the spirit and the letter of previous agreements and recommendations.

The pretext invoked by the USA for maintaining its occupation is the need to protect south Korea from the "threat of aggression". This cannot be justified today since the Government of the DPRK has stated frequently that it had no intention whatsoever of "invading the south". Evidence of this is found in the fact that the DPRK Government has consistently upheld the terms of the Joint Statement, as is shown clearly by the DPRK's proposals, put forward on numerous occasions, to reduce the tension arising from the military confrontation between the north and the south, and containing practical steps to cut the armed

forces and armaments considerably, in the north and in the south of Korea.

Considering the need to restore at the earliest possible time the national fundamental rights of the Korean people as a whole; and the significance of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea for the elimination of tension which has been a threat to peace for the last 30 years, not only in Korea but in the Far East and throughout the world, the proposal for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from south Korea is both legitimate and timely.

It is hoped that the initiative taken in this respect by 34 countries (Algeria, the socialist countries and other countries from different continents) will meet with strong support at the 29th Session of the General Assembly of the UN and among all sections of world public opinion.

The withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea will open the way to solving Korea's reunification problem by peaceful and independent means, and by the Korean people themselves. This withdrawal will also have great importance for peace in the Far East and the world.

KOREAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND WILL BE VICTORIOUS

Mamadou Fall
Mauritanian Poet

...Korea was liberated.... The legendary leader President Kim Il Sung brought independence to the people through his 15-year-long arduous armed struggle which is rarely to be found in history. Everywhere, from Mt. Paekdu-san in the north to Mt. Halla-san on Cheju-do Island in the southern extremity of Korea, the people freed for good and all from the darkness of imperialist rule were transported with the joy of independence.

But this joy of the Korean people could not last long.

Right after liberation the situation unexpectedly became very complicated.

US imperialism, the chieftain of modern colonialism, occupied the southern part of Korea, taking the place of Japanese imperialism, harboured an aggressive design on the northern part with the object of turning the whole territory of Korea into its colony.

The US imperialists' occupation of south Korea aroused strong indignation on the part of the entire Korean people and all the peace- and justice-loving peoples of the world.

The US imperialists, the hardened criminals, set up an artificial barrier with the 38th parallel as the line of demarcation and broke off the national ties of the Korean people that had existed for thousands of years. As a result, the families, relatives and friends in the north and the south were separated so that they could not meet each other. Soon after their landing on south Korea, they established an unprecedentedly outrageous military order and forcibly dissolved the people's committees organized by the people themselves, behaving like a real colonialist. They plundered everything they wanted, arrested and slaughtered all who advocated the reunification of the north and the south.

The US imperialists, together with a handful of traitors to the country and nation in south Korea, who called them the "liberators", vainly tried to suffocate the struggle of the south Korean people. The south Korean people raised their voices higher against the US occupation of south Korea in support of the reunification of the fatherland as the days went by.

Meanwhile, the people of the northern half under the sagacious leadership of President Kim Il Sung rose in a great struggle to liberate the country from US neo-colonialism and reunify it.

However, the US imperialists illegally brought the Korean question to the United Nations, concocted the "UN Commission on Korea" in conspiracy with their allies and tried to conduct an "election" under its control.

Having thoroughly penetrated the sinister design of the US imperialists to perpetuate the national division by creating "two Koreas", President Kim Il Sung put forward the just and fair proposals to reunify the fatherland by the Korean people themselves after the withdrawal of the US army and made

an appeal to all the social organizations and political parties to unanimously approve and support the proposals.

This appeal brought about a great turn in the Korean people's struggle for national reunification. For example, it resulted in uniting them in a single democratic front for the reunification of the fatherland. The inaugural meeting of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland which embraced all the social organizations and political parties in the north and the south adopted a resolution supporting the policy of national unity clarified by President Kim Il Sung. The resolution demanded the immediate withdrawal of the US imperialist aggression troops and the "UN Commission on Korea", the instrument of the US imperialists, from south Korea. It also called for independent reunification by the Korean people themselves without foreign interference and a general election in the north and the south.

It was a great victory achieved by the Korean people thanks to the energetic activities of President Kim Il Sung who had been solely concerned about the reunification of Korea and had put forward the correct policy for reunification.

At that time the north and south Korean people were united as one and supported the resolution and intensified their struggle for reunification.

Terror-stricken by this upward trend of the entire Korean people's struggle for national reunification, the US imperialists and their running dogs manoeuvred in every way to repress the ever-growing tendency to reunification. The trend of world public opinion was also as adamant as to stand up against the manoeuvre. Voices demanding the withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea and the reunification of the country in accordance with the will of the Korean people grew in different parts of the world.

Taking this as an occasion, the US imperialists, who had advocated the so-called "northward advance" since their occupation of south Korea, intensified their armed invasion against the area north of the 38th parallel as never before, instigating the south Korean puppet troops, which they had armed and prepared for years and blowing the "march north" trumpet.

Even at such a time, President Kim Il Sung did not slow down the struggle for a moment. He devoted all his efforts to realizing the people's desire to prevent war and reunify the country peacefully.

In order to meet this desire, President Kim Il Sung took various measures. For example, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly proposed to realize the reunification of the country by merging the Supreme People's Assembly and the "National Assembly" of south Korea into one legislative organ for all nation.

The peoples all over the world were moved by the bold proposition and President Kim Il Sung's great desire to deliver the Korean people from the tragedy of fratricidal war and realize the peaceful reunification of the country.

However, the US imperialists and their stooges started a criminal war by surprise against the sublime desire of the north and south Korean people.

In starting the criminal war against the Korean people, the US imperialists dreamed of very easily "conquering" the northern part of the Republic by armed forces and achieving the "reunification" in an American way. Their design, after all, was to turn the whole of Korea into a US colony. But, quite contrary to their calculation, they met with the heroic resistance of the Korean people and the People's Army and were crushed eventually like the leaves under the caterpillars of a tank.

In this war the US imperialists suffered the most

fatal political and military setback in their long history of aggression at the hands of the Korean people and the Korean People's Army under the unexcelled leadership of President Kim Il Sung, the outstanding military strategist and ingenious tactician.

As can be seen, the US imperialists who had boasted of their equipment of the "ROK army" with their up-to-date arms, were easily defeated by the Korean People's Army. From the outset of the war the US imperialists applied a double-dealing tactic. They intensified the war against the Korean people by hurling new US troops into Korea on the one hand, and on the other, tried to "wash cleanly" their bloody hands by shifting the responsibility onto the United Nations.

The US imperialists instigated the representatives of their satellite countries in the United Nations to approve the illegal resolution on dispatching the "UN Forces" to Korea and placing it under the command of the US army.

Thus, the US troops and the troops of its satellite countries were drawn into Korea under the signboard of the "UN Forces". Yet, all these desperate efforts of the US imperialists proved futile. They could not bring the Korean people into submission, and fell in the flame of war ignited by them.

In this way, the US imperialists yielded an unprecedentedly rich harvest of corpses over a period of three years and bent their knees before the Korean people at last. They could not but go to Panmunjom to sign an armistice agreement.

Twenty years have passed since the Korean war. Nevertheless, the US imperialists are still stationing their troops in south Korea under the signboard of the "UN Forces" which they usurped for the purpose of achieving their aggressive designs on the Korean people.

The US imperialists renamed the "UN Commis-

sion on Korea" the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" in accordance with the changes in their aggressive policy towards Korea. By so doing, they aimed to justify the stationing of their troops in south Korea. Just there the US imperialists are enforcing their neo-colonialist subjugation policy and are interfering in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

Moreover, the US imperialists persist in their obstructionist policy with regard to the solution of the Korean issue while bringing the deceptive and false "report" drawn up by them under the signboard of the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" before the United Nations every year.

Whenever occasion arose, the Party and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung advanced just and reasonable proposals to reunify the country independently and peacefully after the withdrawal of foreign troops from south Korea.

Each time the proposals won the unanimous approval of the entire Korean people and the warm support of all the peoples of the world. None of them, however, has been realized on account of US imperialists' occupation of south Korea and their manoeuvres to obstruct peaceful reunification.

During over 27 years the Party and the Government of the DPRK proposed such fair and above-board proposals on more than 130 occasions.

In particular, at a time when the south Korean people raised ever higher their voices demanding peaceful reunification, Marshal Kim Il Sung, the President of the DPRK, pointed out in his historic speech on August 6, 1971:

"We are ready to establish contact at any time with all political parties, including the Democratic

Republican Party, and all social organizations and individual personages in south Korea."

This marked an epochal turn in the Korean people's cause of national reunification.

This policy of the DPRK Government laid down by President Kim Il Sung received the full support of the entire Korean people and the peoples the world over. This obliged the south Korean authorities, who had once turned their backs to the Korean people's desire and doggedly opposed the contact between the north and the south, to agree to the just policy.

As a result, we came to see the opening of talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations, which gained great results by the untiring efforts on the part of the DPRK. And the north-south high-level talks have been going on since 1972 amid the great expectation held by not only the Korean people but also the peoples of the world.

In the course of the high-level talks, both the north and the south made public the historic North-South Joint Statement containing the three major principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity advanced by President Kim Il Sung. Both sides reached an agreement regarding mutual cooperation for the fulfilment of the items agreed upon in the Joint Statement, and set up a Co-ordination Commission as a nationwide joint organ designed to carry out the agreed points for reunification.

Today radiant vistas have been opened before the Korean people's struggle to realize their cause of reunification.

After the announcement of the Joint Statement the Government of the DPRK, proceeding from the demand of the situation and the unanimous desire of the Korean people, put forward the following new, fair and reasonable proposals on the relaxation of tension between the north and the south and on the

removal of military confrontation with a view to creating an atmosphere of understanding and trust and guaranteeing peace in Korea and her reunification:

Both sides should stop armament reinforcement and arms race, scale down the armies of the north and the south to 100,000 men or less, respectively, discontinue the introduction of weapon and war supplies from abroad, make all foreign troops withdraw from south Korea, and conclude a peace agreement between the north and the south.

This five-point policy of the DPRK is the most just and correct one fully conforming to the requirements of the present situation in Korea.

The Korean people are endeavouring to put this just proposal into effect, but the US imperialists are continuing their interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people, throwing obstacles in the way of the north-south talks in an attempt to hinder the materialization of the just and fair proposal.

The US imperialists are now trying to fabricate "two Koreas" and thereby perpetuate Korea's division and the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south, and finally realize their aggressive design for turning south Korea into their military base.

Today, the Korean people are ever more firmly determined to settle their own problem independently and in a peaceful way as defined in the Joint Statement.

The US imperialists still refuse to withdraw their troops from south Korea in disregard of the agreement made between the north and the south and the dialogue now going on between them. They have shipped into south Korea various kinds of weapons and war supplies and given the south Korean authorities repeated assurance that they would fulfil their "plan for the modernization of the ROK army", while

instigating them to intensify their preparation for military confrontation.

The United States has no pretext whatsoever to remain in south Korea any longer. Because the Korean Armistice Agreement provides for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from both sides after the ceasefire, the south Korean puppet government to which the United States had promised its "protection" has already signed the North-South Joint Statement calling for the reunification of the country by the Korean people themselves independently, in a peaceful way, and without interference of foreign countries, and both sides have agreed with each other not to use armed forces in settling the reunification problem.

It is not for the "protection" of the south Korean "government" but for the achievement of its sinister design that the United States is now refusing to get out of south Korea. The United States is now clamouring about their "support of reunification" before the world. But, in actuality, it is opposing the realization of peaceful reunification. If not so, it need not try to arm the south Korean army, but should get out of south Korea, taking along all its military potentials.

As is pointed out in the North-South Joint Statement the primary necessity for the realization of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea is to put an end to foreign interference in the domestic affairs of the Korean people.

To this end, the United Nations must take back its flag from the hands of the US imperialists who have usurped it to maintain their colonial rule over south Korea, strip the US imperialist aggressive army of the helmets of the "UN Forces", dissolve the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and withdraw all the foreign troops, the US troops in particular, from south Korea.

Today, it is obvious that the solution of the Korean question will not be delayed any longer, if the United States discontinues its interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and gets out of south Korea completely.

The south Korean authorities should not blindly follow the US imperialist policy of hindering the peaceful reunification of Korea. They must bear in mind that Korea has never been split into "two", and that the artificial barrier built by the imperialists between the north and the south will not be kept long. They must also assume the attitude appropriate to Koreans and implement sincerely and heartily the items already agreed upon between the north and the south, without averting their faces from the dialogue.

It is impossible to stop the united people's advance towards the accomplishment of their desire. The wheels of history never reverse themselves, they only roll along.

Korea will surely be reunified by the Korean people themselves without any interference of foreign countries. This is the pressing demand of the times.

I would like to take this opportunity to confirm once again my steadfast support to and my active solidarity with the Korean people who are bravely fighting for the independent, peaceful reunification of their fatherland under the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung.

I also hope all the peoples of the world who love peace, progress and justice will strive for the realization of the Korean people's ardent desire to realize the independent, peaceful reunification of their homeland.

Korea is certain to be reunified.

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